Strategizing About Work-Family Integration During the Transition to Parenthood: Longitudinal Processes and Ideological Influences

by

Laurel Kristine Sakaluk

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Human Ecology
University of Alberta

© Laurel Kristine Sakaluk, 2017

Abstract

The transition to parenthood is often associated with shifts towards traditional gender roles in families related to women's and men's participation in paid work and caring for children. Mothers maintain more responsibility than fathers for the day-to-day care of children and breadwinning remains a central task of fathering. The persistence of gendered parenting roles in contemporary families is somewhat perplexing given the apparent cultural dominance of co-parenting and involved father ideologies. Still more research is required to understand the individual level processes that shape mothers' and fathers' strategies for integration of paid work and child care in relation to their sociocultural and institutional context, processes that often lead to adoption of traditional gender roles.

I conducted a longitudinal, qualitative investigation of men's and women's strategizing about work-family integration over a five-year period during their transitions to parenthood. My longitudinal study used selected key principles of the methodological approach of institutional ethnography (IE), developed by Dorothy Smith (1987), that is focused on elucidating the coordination of individual behaviors by dominant institutions and their ideological discourses.

The first paper in this dissertation, *It All Comes Out in the Wash,* is an investigation of alternative trajectories of strategizing about work-family integration by first-time mothers as shaped by their institutional and ideological context. Two trajectories of strategizing were delineated. The first trajectory, *the washing machine trajectory*, was characterized by a cyclical process of strategizing and by considerable change in mothers' work-family integration approaches over time. In addition, the work-family integration approaches of mothers who followed this trajectory became increasingly similar despite marked early variation in their work-

family integration preferences. In contrast, mothers who followed the second trajectory, *the career maintenance trajectory*, followed a linear process of strategizing and their work-family integration trajectory was characterized by stability of work-family integration arrangements over time. The two trajectories were shaped by different orientations to dominant ideologies and by different interpretations of and responses to work-family integration challenges.

The second paper, *The Pathway to the Practice of Contemporary Fathering and the Slowly Evolving Gender Order,* focuses on the process of development of a practice of contemporary fathering and the influences of ideological and relational context on the process. The findings demonstrated that first-time fathers were committed to the ideology of involved fatherhood but that beliefs about gender shaped their early work-family integration choices. They consequently moved into a role of secondary parent, relative to mothers, and into a role of main earner for their families. Established as secondary parents, fathers demonstrated their commitment to involved fatherhood ideology through performance of a "fathers' child care shift" around the boundaries of their paid work commitments. In the fathers' child care shift, fathers prioritized caring for children over all other activities. Fathers' intrinsic commitment to performance of their child care shift seemed to be the measure by which both fathers and mothers judged successful fulfillment of the ideology of involved fatherhood.

The final paper, *Making the Invisible Visible,* outlines an analytical strategy for elucidating the process of development of new social relations during life course transitions, such as the transition to parenthood. This paper builds on analytical principles of IE and of qualitative longitudinal research. Analytical principles from these two bodies of literature informed an analytical strategy that consists of an integrated recurrent cross-sectional thematic analysis and a trajectory analysis. Through integration of the cross-sectional and trajectory analyses, I

illuminated the temporal nature of two key concepts from IE, an expanded concept of work, and the coordinating power of discourse. This paper contributes to the scant literature about data analysis in IE. Using data from my study about women's trajectories of work-family integration strategizing during the transition to parenthood, I demonstrated the utility of the analytical strategy.

Preface

This thesis is an original work by Laurel Sakaluk. It is based on data from two research projects that together form a longitudinal investigation, *Mobilizing Intergenerational Social Support During the Transition to Parenthood* and *Family Well-being and Family and Paid Work Interface* led by Dr. Kaysi Kushner, University of Alberta. I recruited participants and conducted interviews for both projects. All analysis in this dissertation project is my original work. Both research projects received research ethics approval from the University of Alberta Research Ethics Board: "Mobilizing Intergenerational Social Support During the Transition to Parenthood", No. Pro00003449, June 16, 2006 and "Family Well-being and Family and Paid Work Interface", No. Pro000018963, April 29, 2011.

Dedication

This work is dedicated to Emma and Meghan. You inspire me every day with your courage, your strength, and your passion and ability for understanding the social world and living knowledgably and fearlessly within it.

Acknowledgements

This dissertation would not have been possible without the patient and expert mentorship of my PhD supervisor, Dr. Rhonda Breitkreuz. Her intelligence and passion for research inspired me throughout the writing of this dissertation and throughout my entire PhD journey. I admire her greatly for her achievements within and outside of academia, and it has been an honor to study with her.

I would like to thank, Dr. Kaysi Kushner, for the opportunity to conduct interviews and analyze data for the Mobilizing Intergenerational Social Support During the Transition to Parenthood study and the Family Well-being and Family and Paid Work Interface study. I have been very fortunate to have had the opportunity to work with the rich, longitudinal data set from these two studies. Kaysi also read multiple drafts of this dissertation and provided careful and thoughtful feedback that pushed me to refine this dissertation in important ways. In addition, her excellence in scholarship has been an inspiration and her enthusiasm about my research has been motivational through this long process.

I would like to thank committee members, Pushpanjali Dashora, Karen Hughes, Berna Skrypnek, and Amber Gazso for their participation in my PhD process. It has been an honor to have the opportunity to share my research with you and to learn from your comments and questions.

I have had the privilege to work with a number of faculty members on research projects and in teaching-related roles. The talents and achievements of Nicole Pitre, Deanna Williamson, Norah Keating, Janet Fast, Kathryn Chandler, and Margo Charchuk have been inspirational and motivational throughout my PhD program.

I would also like to acknowledge fellow graduate students, Diane Dennis, Julianna Charchun, Hannah Goa, Dana Robinson, and Phil O'Hara whose support and friendship have been gifts during a sometimes difficult educational journey.

Anita Jenkins was kind enough to share her friendship and her editing talents with me in the final stages of dissertation writing. These were invaluable contributions.

I was supported by wonderful co-workers whose friendship and kind interest in my research and writing have been very important to me over the last few years of PhD work. Thank you to all of the ducks for your encouragement and support.

A very important acknowledgement goes to my friends and family, and in particular, to my parents, Marlene and Thomas Sakaluk, and my beautiful daughters, Emma and Meghan. This dissertation would not have been possible without your love and support. I would also like to thank my partner, Ali, who has stood by me through this journey.

I would like to thank and acknowledge the mothers and fathers who participated in this study and who so courageously and expertly navigate the work-family boundary. You are the inspiration for this work.

I am grateful for the financial support that I received for my research from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council, the Canadian Federation of University Women, the Department of Human Ecology, University of Alberta, and from the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, University of Alberta.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

Glossary of Terms

Child Care. The term child care as used in this paper, refers to all work that is performed to meet the physical and emotional needs of children, and by necessity crosses boundaries into the work required to maintain a household, such as cooking and cleaning.

Ideology. In this paper, my conceptualization of ideology is informed by Therborn (1980)[1] and Smith (1987). According to Therborn (1980), ideologies are collective discourses that shape individual subjectivities by defining, "*What exists…What is good…*[and] *what is possible"* (p.18). Through recognition of and response to ideologies, individuals become "subjected to a particular order" (p.17). According to Smith (1987), ideologies are, "those ideas and images through which the class that rules the society by virtue of its domination of the means of production orders, organizes, and sanctions the social relations that sustain its domination" (p.54).

Pathways. I conceptualize pathways as longitudinal sequences of steps (Miquel Verd & Lopez, 2011) that occur during life course transitions and, in which, "each step along them is conditioned by the steps taken previously, by the personal, financial, social and cultural resources to which the growing individual has access, and by the social and institutional contexts through which the individual moves" (Bynner, 2005, p.379). In this paper, the term "pathways" is used interchangeably with the term, "trajectories."

Preferences, Beliefs, and Attitudes. Whereas in this paper I use the term "ideology" to refer to a collective system of discourse and understanding, I use the terms "beliefs, preferences and attitudes" to refer to individual level judgements about *"What exists…What is good…*[and] *what is possible"* (building on Therborn, 1980, p.18, and informed by Homer-Dixon et al. , 2013). Individual level beliefs and attitudes are shaped, in part, by individual orientations to and interpretations of dominant ideologies.

Strategy. The art of devising or employing plans or strategems toward a goal (Merriam-Webster.com, 2017).

Trajectories. See definition for "pathways." In this paper, the term "pathways" is used interchangeably with the term, "trajectories."

Transitions. In this paper, transitions, such as the transition to parenthood, are defined as "longterm *processes* that result in a qualitative reorganization of both inner life and external behavior. For a life change to be designated as transitional, it must involve a qualitative shift from the inside looking out (how the individual understands and feels about the self and the world) and from the outside looking in (reorganization of the individuals' or family' levels of

[1] Sources for citations included in the *Glossary of Terms* are listed in the references for the following section, *Introduction to Dissertation.*

personal competence, role arrangements, and relationships with significant others)" (Cowan, 1991, p.5).

Work-Family Integration. There are many possible work-family integration arrangements used by families. Sometimes a traditional gender division of labour is utilized. That is, a woman will provide full-time stay-at-home parent care and not engage in paid work, while her male partner participates in full-time paid work. Other times, two parents will be employed full-time and children will attend a full-time nonparental child care arrangement. Many other possible family-level work-family integration arrangements exist. These examples illustrate that work-family integration can be considered at both a family and an individual level. In this paper, when I use the phrase *work-family integration*, I am referring to mothers' or fathers' individual-level strategies related to participation in paid work and child care. These strategies could include participating very little or not at all in either paid work or child care. It is acknowledged that mothers' or fathers' individual strategies for work-family integration are developed in a relational context against the backdrop of their partners' strategies.

INTRODUCTION TO DISSERTATION

The subject of gender and work-family integration has been high profile in recent years. Many articles have appeared in the mainstream media that focus on aspects of the intersections between gender, paid work, and family work, including child care. A common narrative in these articles is that women are "opting out" of the paid work force (Belkin, 2003; Miller, 2013). Central to the narrative of opting out is the idea that women are leaving the labour market as an expression of their maternal drive and their preferences to devote their time and energy to their most important job, raising children. An additional common narrative in the media is that of the involved father who is equal to his wife in his focus on care of children (Bologna, 2015). The first of these narratives is heavily gendered, portraying mothering as incompatible with paid work, and the other is indicative of a genderless ideal, portraying mothers' and fathers' role in child care as roughly equivalent. The juxtaposition of these two narratives illustrates one of the many contradictions that characterizes the portrayal and understanding of contemporary work-family integration.

Academic research focused on work-family integration has also increased in recent years. Much of this research has explored similarities and differences in mothers' and fathers' participation in paid work and child care. Other studies have focused on understanding the contextual factors such as ideology and policy that impact men's and women's choices about work-family integration, choices that profoundly impact the ways in which they practice mothering and fathering. Still more research is required about the individual level processes that shape men's and women's strategies for work-family integration.

The purpose of this dissertation is to contribute to knowledge about the processes by which men and women strategize about work-family integration in their ideological, relational, and policy contexts. The dissertation project is a longitudinal qualitative investigation that explores men's and women's processes of strategizing about work-family integration during the transition to parenthood.

The Entry Point…

My interest in this research topic is rooted in convergence of my experiences in multiple domains of my life. First, in my early work as a graduate student in the Department of Human Ecology at the University of Alberta, I was a research assistant and conducted a literature review to support development of a grant proposal for a study about parents' experiences of choosing and utilizing child care in Alberta, Canada. The study team defined child care broadly to encompass a wide range of child care arrangements, including, full-time, stay-at-home parent care; informal, part-time, nonparental care arrangements; and full-time, nonparental care. Most studies that I found in my scan of the literature focused on decision-making about child care using a framework of rational, individual choice and cost-benefit analysis (Kensinger Rose & Elicker, 2008); Kim & Fram, 2009; Leslie, Ettenson, & Cumsille, 2000; Volling & Belsky, 1993). An assumption underlying these studies was that men and women make their decisions about child care by weighing the costs and benefits of different options and choosing the option with the highest utility.

Decisions about child care are made in tandem with decisions about paid work. For example, a mother previously employed full-time, can likely not make a decision to provide full-time, stay-at-home child care without reducing or ending hours spent in paid employment. For this reason, research about work-family integration decision-making was relevant to the child

care study, and I also reviewed this body of evidence as preparation for the development of the child care study grant proposal.

I found that the framework of individual choice was, as in the child care decision-making literature, an almost ubiquitous conceptual framework in media stories about work-family integration and in academic research about the topic. It was assumed that women's and men's strategies for combining paid work and child care resulted from choices that they made about work-family integration that were rooted in their individual beliefs, preferences and attitudes. Although many studies also investigated the impact of social, cultural, and policy context on choices, the rhetoric of individual decision-making and choice was often still used to describe the individual processes by which men and women selected particular arrangements for work-family integration.

At the time that I was working on the literature scan, my two children were quite young. The oldest was attending primary school and the youngest was attending a part-time preschool. I found myself making difficult choices about how to manage the work of graduate studies and also provide appropriate care for my children. I met regularly with many friends, also mothers, who were facing similar struggles. Together, we reflected on ongoing experiences during our transition to parenthood, of struggling to find strategies that would enable us to maintain involvement in paid work/studies and also provide good, stable care for our children. The struggles of our experiences of work-family integration decision-making were not reflected in the literature accounts of decision-making about child care and work-family integration. Much of the "work" that we did to find and implement work-family integration strategies for our families, was not captured in a process of rational weighing of options and a simple "activation" of our beliefs and preferences related to particular work-family integration options. Our experience of

work-family integration seemed to fall outside of the conceptual categories used in the media and literature to describe it.

One of my first research experiences as a graduate student in the Department of Human Ecology was working as a research assistant for a project entitled, *Mobilizing Intergenerational Social Support During the Transition to Parenthood* (MIS) (Kushner, Williamson, Stewart, Letourneau, Spitzer, & Rempel, 2006-2010). The MIS project was aimed at understanding men's and women's expectations and experiences of managing paid work and family work during the transition to parenthood. The study explored the impacts of gender, sociocultural orientation, socioeconomic status, and social support on parents' experiences. The study followed 21 families from the time that they were expecting their first child until their first child was approximately 18 months old. I conducted interviews with first-time expectant parents at the first study time point. In interviews, parents and I spoke about the day-to-day work of preparing for the arrival of their first baby and our discussions also focused on expectations related to mothering and fathering roles and anticipated work-family integration approaches. Throughout my early years as a graduate student, I reflected on the interviews and their content and I saw an opportunity to explore the data set to identify couples' longitudinal processes of strategizing about their paid work and child care responsibilities in their ideological, relational, and policy context. The detail captured in the interviews about mothers' and fathers' daily experiences of strategizing about and managing paid work and family work would enable study of aspects of work-family integration that are not yet well-captured in the literature. This would potentially facilitate development of alternative conceptual frameworks for understanding the area of work-family integration decision-making, in addition to the framework of individual choice.

Through discussion with my PhD supervisor, Rhonda Breitkreuz, who was part of the investigative team of the MIS study, I learned that the team was planning a follow-up study in which they would reconnect with the MIS study participants. The follow-up study was to occur approximately two years after the MIS study ended, when the participants' first child was approximately four to five years old. The *Family Well-being and the Family and Paid Work Interface* (WFI) study (Kushner, Pitre, Breitkreuz, Williamson, & Rempel, 2010-2012), would focus on the participants' decision-making about the work-family interface. Together the two studies would constitute a longitudinal, qualitative study of men's and women's experiences of managing paid work and family work during their transitions to parenthood. Rhonda and I met with the principle investigator of the MIS and WFI studies, Kaysi Kushner, to request that I participate in the WFI study as an interviewer and access the longitudinal data set so that I could investigate processes of development of child care and paid work strategies over time for my dissertation project. In Summer, 2011, I began conducting interviews for the WFI study and after completing my candidacy exam in December, 2012, I began my data analysis.

Situating the Study

The relationship between gender and work-family integration is at a transitional place in history. Since the late 19th century, work-family integration arrangements have been highly gendered and have been organized around the principle of domesticity, characterized by separate spheres for men and women (Williams, 2000). Women specialize in caregiving and perform full-time child care and household labour in the home, while men focus on breadwinning and achieving success in the private sphere.

In the last decades of the 20th century, significant shifts occurred that destabilized the system of domesticity and the underlying gender order. Women's labour force participation

levels increased dramatically and men's and women's time spent in caregiving work began to converge (Goldscheider, Bernhardt, & Lappegard, 2014). However, there are still marked differences in men's and women's relative participation in paid work and caregiving work, including child care, and in their experiences of work-family integration. The underlying reasons for the persistence of gendered work-family integration strategies have been the focus of much research in recent years and are also addressed by this dissertation project.

In the following section of the introductory chapter, I situate the dissertation project by outlining current patterns of work-family integration strategies utilized by Canadian men and women. I then describe the theoretical underpinnings of the current study which is informed by human ecological theory and feminist theory, and I also describe the literature gaps that this project addresses. This is followed by a description of the dissertation project and an overview of each of the three papers that together compose this paper-based dissertation.

Patterns of Work-Family Integration in Study Location

Roderic, Liu, and Ravanera (2015) analyzed the strategies that were being utilized by Canadian couples for work-family integration. The most common work-family integration strategy was the "complementary traditional model", which is a strategy in which women spend more hours in unpaid work, while men spend more hours in paid work. The use of this strategy had decreased in frequency in recent years, from 45.3% of Canadian couples in 1992 to 33.4% in 2010. The next most commonly used strategy was the "women's double burden model." Its level of use amongst couples remained relatively stable between 1992 and 2010 and decreased from 26.5 to 25.9 %. It is characterized by relatively equal numbers of paid work hours for both men and women, but higher numbers of unpaid work hours for women than for men. Other studies have demonstrated that these two models of work-family integration are most frequently utilized

by Canadian couples with young children and by older couples (Ravanera, Beaujot, & Liu, 2009).

Use of a "shared role model" strategy had increased the most in recent years. In this strategy, men and women in couples perform equal numbers of hours of unpaid work. This work-family integration strategy had increased in use, from 22.6% of couples in 1992 to 28.8% of couples in 2010, however, it was still less frequently used than strategies that align with traditional gender roles for men and women (Roderic, Liu, & Ravanera, 2015).

In Canada, the number of couples with children under the age of 16 who are dual earners, increased from 36% in 1976 to 69% in 2014 (Uppal, 2015). In 2014, both partners were employed full time in 50.9% of Canadian dual-earner couples. In 15.3% of dual-earner couples, the husband was employed full-time and the wife, part time; in 2%, the wife was employed full-time and the husband part-time; and in the remaining 0.8%, both partners were employed part-time.

Alberta, Canada, the location of the current study, had the lowest proportion of dual-earner couples with children in 2014 (65%) of any Canadian province. In cross-provincial comparison, in 2014, Alberta also had the highest proportion of stay-at-home parents (26%, relative to the national average of 18%) and the lowest proportion of stay-at-home fathers (4%, relative to the Atlantic provinces, where in comparison, 16% of stay-at-home parents were fathers) (Uppal, 2015).

In Canada, women perform fewer paid work hours per week than do men (Moyser, 2017). In 2015, women averaged 35.5 paid work hours/week compared to 41.1 average hours for men. In 2015, 75.8% of Canadians who were employed part-time were women (18.9% of employed

women worked part-time, compared to 5.5% of men). Women's most frequently cited reason for choosing part-time employment was to accommodate child care responsibilities (Moyser, 2017). Comparable gendered patterns of part-time work also existed in Canada during the period in which the current study took place, between 2007-2012. In illustration, in 2009, 26.9% of women worked part-time and 7 in 10 part-time workers were female (Statistics Canada, 2011).

Although the number of dual-earner couples with children has increased in recent decades, significant differences still remain in Canadian fathers' and mothers' relative participation in paid work and household work, including child care. Women are more are more likely to work part-time to accommodate child care responsibilities and often perform more unpaid work than do men. Compared to the rest of Canada, gender differences related to work-family integration are exacerbated in Alberta, Canada, in which there are relatively few dual-earner couples and a relatively increased proportion of stay-at-home mothers.

Theoretical Context

A number of theoretical perspectives were useful for framing my study that investigated the individual processes of decision-making in context that shape mothers' and fathers` work-family integration strategies, their strategies for managing their child care and paid work responsibilities.

Human ecology theory. The overarching theoretical perspective for this study is human ecological theory. Human ecological theory guides understanding of the relationships between human beings and their social, political and cultural environments. As such, it is a relevant and useful theory for guiding investigation of mothers' and fathers' strategizing about work-family integration within the opportunities and constraints of their environmental contexts. Key

assumptions of human ecological theory focus upon the nature of the environment and the qualities of human-environment interactions.

The environment in human ecological theory. A core assumption of human ecological theory is that the nature and behavior of human beings cannot be understood without examining and understanding their environments. According to Westney, Brabble, and Edwards (1988), in human ecological theory, "concepts concerning the environments of human beings deal with factors within the individual's internal environment as well as factors and situations in the person's external environment which contribute to development and behavior" (p.131).

One of the best known human ecological conceptualizations of the environment is Uri Bronfenbrenner's (1994) model. Bronfenbrenner's model defined a highly-differentiated environment consisting of physical, social, and cultural elements. He described a series of nested environments, "each inside the other like a set of Russian dolls" (p.1644), that radiate distally from an individual who is at the centre of the model and who interacts with each of the environments. The innermost environment is referred to as the microsystem and includes the immediate settings in which the individual spends time and engages in face-to-face interactions. Such settings include the family and workplace. Moving distally, the environment moves through the layer referred to as the mesosystem, which consists of linkages between microsystem environments, such as the interface of the family and the workplace. The next layer is the exosystem, composed of linkages between settings of which the individual is not part, but which impact the individual's environment. This could include, for example, the workplace of one's partner. Finally, the distal most layer of the environment is the macrosystem, which encompasses the "belief systems, bodies of knowledge, material resources, customs, life-styles, opportunity structures, hazards, and life course options that are embedded" (p.1646) in the institutions and

systems of a society. Gender ideals and motherhood, fatherhood, and political ideologies and frameworks exist in the macrosystem.

In human ecological theory, the environment of human beings consists not only of a complex external environment that shapes their existence, but also of an internal environment. Pratt (1993) describes a rich, inner environment that consists of such elements as "language, science, art, religion, and the various myths, archetypes, paradigms that convey them" (p.95). The internal environment according to Westney et al. (1988), incorporates individual cognitive processes such as learning and skill development and psychological processes such as formation of individual identity and self-knowledge. For the purpose of this paper, drawing from human ecological theory, it will be understood that individuals incorporate elements of their external environment such as ideologies, gender ideals, and knowledge of social structures, into their internal belief systems and cognitions, which then shape their strategies for work-family integration.

A final element of the environment that is identified in human ecological theory is the element of time. Bronfenbrenner (1994) refers to the temporal nature of the environment as its third dimension. He labels this dimension the "chronosystem" and conceptualizes it as incorporating change or consistency over time in both the characteristics of individuals throughout their life course and in their external environment. The focus on time is an important element of this dissertation study because of the longitudinal process of change that occurs in men's and women's relationships to elements of their environment, such as work place and home as they strategize about work-family integration during their transitions to parenthood.

Human-environment interrelationships. The concept of the inner environment is key to a second core assumption of human ecological theory, that human beings are integrated with their environments. Bubolz and Sontag (1988) state that, "the uniqueness of human ecology lies in its focus on viewing humans and their near environments as integrated wholes, mutually influencing each other" (p.3). Pratt (1993) discusses the evolution of human beings as involving a process of integrating our "…environment 'within us' in the words, images, and models that partly make up our 'inner world'" (p.97). The words, images, and models that become integrated into our ways of knowing also, in a reciprocal process, shape our environment. They inform our actions within our environment and in so doing, shape its nature. In summary, we are shaped by elements of our environment and the nature of our environment, in turn, is shaped by our actions within it. We can infer that men's and women's choices about work-family integration are influenced by elements of their environments and their choices, in turn, contribute to the creation of norms and expectations related to gender and work-family integration.

Feminist theoretical perspectives. A number of feminist theoretical perspectives have been developed focused on environmental conditions necessary to enable gender equivalence of access to participation in paid work and caring. I viewed these perspectives as nested within the overarching framework of human ecological theory to inform the theoretical framework for my study. Fraser (1997) theorized that a new form of welfare state, a universal caregiver model, is required that is designed with women's lives as the norm. Women typically combine participation in paid work and caregiving. If concurrent participation in both paid work and caregiving became the normative expectation of citizens, Fraser theorized that a dismantling of the gender order could follow. The employment sector, for example, could be designed with worker's caring responsibilities in mind such that the number of hours in a full-time work week

were reduced. Other services and policies enabling employment for those with caregiving responsibilities would also develop. The decrease in barriers to concurrent participation in paid work and caregiving would increase mothers' access to paid employment and fathers' access to participation in caregiving.

Olson (2002) in response to Fraser's Universal Caregiver Model, theorized that welfare states designed to degender caring and paid work, will not be successful in these outcomes without a concurrent shift in the prevailing gender norms in which the welfare state is embedded. The choices that men and women make about work-family integration are shaped by social and cultural norms that associate breadwinning with masculinity and caregiving with femininity. Even if a welfare state exists that eliminates many barriers to men's and women's equal participation in paid work and caring, Olson asserts that the choices that they make will remain "governed by existing social norms and various aspects of personality and character. Because dispositions are patterned along lines of gender, men and women will to some extent reproduce the normative cultural background of their socialization" (p.392). Without a restructuring of the gender order, an order that becomes part of the "internal environment" of individuals, men will be more likely to utilize policies that enable them to be workers, and women will choose policies that enable them to care.

Olson (2002) contends that a new welfare state will not be successful in gender desegregation of paid work and caring work, unless individuals recognize the conditional nature of gender norms and are empowered to "articulate and argue for different norms" (p.396). Olson refers to the capability to act and change culture, including gender norms, as "cultural agency." He asserts that historically, women have held less cultural agency than men and that equality of access to paid work and caring, is dependent upon men and women's equal cultural agency.

Through the articulation and enactment of alternative gender norms, individual women (and men) will have the capability to change the way that their cultural environment is constructed. Through modulation of the gender norms in the cultural environment, a dismantling of the relationship between gender and individual choices about participation in paid work and caring will occur.

Fraser's and Olson's feminist theoretical positions illustrate the two core principles of human ecological theory that frame this study about men's and women's strategizing about work-family integration. Fraser's theorization demonstrates the importance of considering mothers' and fathers' external environment, including their policy context, in research about their work-family integration choices. Olson's work illustrates the importance of considering the processes by which factors in the external environment shape parents' internal beliefs and understandings (their internal environment) and in so doing, impact their work-family integration choices. Olson's work also highlights an opportunity for changing the way that the social world is constructed through a shifting of men's and women's internalized, often implicit beliefs about gender, paid work, and caring. The broad framework of human ecological theory and the theoretical thinking of Fraser and Olson point to the need for particular approaches to the study of work-family integration. This includes approaches such as that of this dissertation project, that capture the processes of individual-environment interaction in which individual strategies both shape and are influenced by gendered patterns of work-family integration in society.

The Context that Shapes Parents' Work-Family Integration Strategies

Blair-Loy (2010) asserted that the current work-family literature is limited by its dominant theoretical approaches consisting of both a model of individual rationality that she refers to as "narrow rational action" and also of a second model, "structural determinism." The first

theoretical approach assumes that individuals perform a rational, cost-benefit analysis of different work-family options and choose the option with the greatest utility, the strategy that will "maximize some kind of self-interest" (p.441). The second assumes somewhat passive individuals whose work-family integration options are largely shaped by structural forces. Together, these two models create an approach to work-family scholarship defined by assumptions that human beings, as we navigate the work-family nexus, are "peculiarly dispassionate and morally neutral as we confront structural constraints and weigh costs and benefits of different options" (p.440). Blair-Loy contends that this approach is "a model of human action that is simultaneously too individualistically strategic and too universally passive" (p.439).

Blair-Loy calls for more work-family research that begins with a different theoretical lens and that investigates the influence of "ideological constraint." This research is grounded in recognition of the ideologically based systems of meaning that characterize and define the institutions of the workplace and family and that shape men's and women's individual beliefs, emotions, and decisions related to particular work-family integration options. This is a body of research that seeks to build understanding of the processes by which parents make work-family integration decisions within the morally-charged opportunities and constraints that are created by their ideological environments. The current study contributes to this body of knowledge.

In the literature reviews of the next three chapters of this dissertation, I comprehensively review current understanding of the processes by which men and women make decisions about work-family integration, processes which are generally viewed through the lens of a rational choice framework. I also extensively review current knowledge of the environmental factors that shape men's and women's work-family integration strategies, studies that largely are informed

by a model of structural determinism. To avoid duplication, I will only briefly summarize this body of literature in this introductory chapter and will focus on the gaps that this study aims to address, including the existing gap identified by Blair-Loy (2010) in relation to studies that apply a moral lens to investigation of work-family integration.

Some studies of work-family integration in recent years have delineated a role of individual characteristics such as educational level and socioeconomic status in the shaping of parents' choices about work-family integration (Leslie, Ettenson, & Cumsille, 2000; Kensinger Rose & Elicker, 2008). These studies have also been informed by an assumption that parents, influenced by their demographic characteristics, make work-family integration choices using a rational process in which they weigh the costs and benefits of particular work-family integration options.

Men's and women's choices about work-family integration are also influenced by their relational context. Fathers' involvement in child care is affected by the degree to which mothers encourage and refrain from criticizing their parenting behaviors (Schoppe-Sullivan, Cannon, Brown, Mangelsdorf, & Sokolowski, 2008) and researchers have provided evidence that some mothers restrict fathers' involvement in child care (Allen & Hawkins, 1999; Fagan & Barnett, 2003). Mothers' participation in paid work is influenced by their partners' income (Matysiak & Steinmetz, 2008) and mothers employed in professional positions, but not fathers in professional positions, reduce their involvement in paid employment in response to paid work hours of their spouse. Mothers employed in professional positions whose spouses work long hours, more than 50 hours/week, are more likely than nonmothers to terminate their paid employment (Cha, 2010).

Likely as a legacy of the system of domesticity, men's and women's work-family integration strategies are often complementary, even when both partners engage in paid work. Becker and Moen (1999), for example, found that dual-earner couples often utilize a family-level work-family integration approach that they refer to as "scaling back" and that consists of strategies such as one spouse cutting back on their paid work hours or of one spouse having a "career" and the other, a "job." Becker and Moen explained that, "Jobs were understood to be ad hoc and flexible, more about making money than intrinsic satisfaction. Careers progress in a straight line and change less often, and are rewarding in themselves" (p.1001). The researchers observed that these strategies were heavily gendered; two-thirds of those placing limits on work hours or reframing their careers as jobs were women.

Aspects of the social policy environment such as child care policies and parental leave provisions also impact men's and women's work-family integration strategies (De henau, Moulders, & O'Dorchai, 2006; Patnaik, 2016). However, the way that these policies shape individual work-family integration choices is complex and related to other aspects of the external environment such as economic conditions (Uunk, Kalmijn, & Muffels, 2005), and to individual characteristics such as educational level (Del Boca, Pasqua, & Pronzato, 2008).

There are many factors, individual, relational, and policy that impact men's and women's work-family integration choices. Some researchers have also described the impact of dominant ideologies, such as motherhood (Hattery, 2001) and gender ideologies (Cooper, 2000; Fortin, 2005; Hakim, 2000; Townsend, 2002) on men's and women's work-family integration strategies. There are still gaps in understanding, however, about the interactions of ideologies with other environmental factors and about the individual processes by which these interactions shape men's and women's choices about work-family integration (Blair-Loy, 2010).

The current study is a longitudinal investigation of men's and women's processes of strategizing about work-family integration in their ideological, relational, and policy context. The study is as investigation of the ways in which mothers and fathers make decisions about work-family integration based on ideological systems of meaning that imbue work-family integration options with gendered, moral significance and that are negotiated within couples' relational and sociopolitical context. By addressing the moral nature of processes of work-family integration strategizing, the study addresses gaps in the work-family literature that are, in part, created by the field's dominant theoretical approaches rooted in assumptions of amoral beings who make rational decisions within their sociopolitical context.

The Current Study

MIS & WFI Studies

This dissertation project is set within two larger studies, *Mobilizing Intergenerational Social Support During the Transition to Parenthood (MIS)* and a follow-up study, *Family Well-being and the Family Paid Work Interface (WFI).* In the MIS study, interviews were conducted with families at three timepoints: when they were expecting their first child and approximately six months, and 12-15 months after birth. The WFI study reconnected with the same families when their first child was approximately four-five years old. The study took place between 2007-2011 when I was enrolled in a graduate program at the University of Alberta. I assisted with recruitment of participants for the MIS study and conducted interviews for both the MIS and WFI studies. The analysis for this dissertation project is my original work.

Two manuscripts have been previously published based on MIS data: *Anticipating parenthood: Women's and men's meanings, expectations, and idea(l)s in Canada* (Kushner, Pitre, Williamson, Breitkreuz, & Rempel, 2014), utilized data from the first study time-point,

when families were expecting their first child, to explore parents' meanings and expectations of parenthood. As indicated in the Kushner et al. (2014) article, dominant ideologies began to shape men and women's relative involvement in paid work and child care even prior to the arrival of their first child. As mothers prepared for the arrival of their first child, their expectations of parenthood centred on orienting themselves to prioritizing care of their infant in their day-to-day lives. Fathers' expectations of parenthood, in contrast, focused on an anticipated tension between their paid work responsibilities and their desire to spend time with their children.

The second publication for this study, *On shifting ground: First-time parents' ideal world of paid work and family time* (Kushner, Sopcak, Breitkreuz, Pitre, Williamson, & Rempel, 2017), focused primarily on data from the third study time-point, when first children were about 9-18 months of age, and explored parents' ideal systems of support. At this time-point mothers had made an initial decision about whether or not to return to paid work after their periods of maternity leave.

The cross-sectional analysis demonstrated the influence of current ideologies of parenthood: women focused on supports that would enable their child care work, in alignment with intensive motherhood ideology, while men focused on supports that would enable them to both financially provide for their families but also care for their children. This dual focus is in alignment with current coexisting ideologies of fatherhood: breadwinner ideology and involved fatherhood.

My dissertation study is the first longitudinal analysis of data from all study timepoints. I focused on analysis of the work of strategizing about paid work and child care in context and on the ways in which dominant ideological discourses and relational and policy context, shaped,

over time, men's and women's management of their paid work and child care responsibilities. My study contextualizes and extends the findings of *Anticipating Parenthood* and *On Shifting Ground* by demonstrating the ways in which early expectations of parenthood and gendered expectations of support shape trajectories of work-family integration for men and women. It is these trajectories that largely determine the ways in which they practice fathering and mothering.

Research Questions

The overarching research question for my study was: What choices and strategies do Canadian couples employ to manage their paid work and child care responsibilities and how are they shaped by ideological, relational, and policy context? Nested within this overarching guiding question were research questions specific to understanding men's and women's processes of strategizing about management of their paid work and child care responsibilities over time. The first paper in this dissertation project, *It All Comes Out in the Wash,* is focused on mothers' longitudinal experiences of strategizing about work-family integration in context. For this study, I explored the following research questions: What strategies do mothers use to manage the work-family interface and how are these strategies shaped by policy, ideological, and relational context? What are the trajectories of paid work and family work choices followed by Canadian mothers?

The second paper in this dissertation, *The Pathway to the Practice of Contemporary Fathering,* is focused on men's experiences of work-family integration strategizing. For this paper, I explored the following research questions: What are the core components of the practice of contemporary fathering? and What is the pathway to the practice of contemporary fathering and how does it evolve in response to ideological and relational contexts?

The final paper of this dissertation is a methodological paper entitled, *Making the Invisible Visible,* in which I describe the analytical approach for my dissertation project. In explication of my analytical approach, I explored the following research question: Despite a context of significant societal pulls towards gender equality, why is the transition to parenthood associated with the enactment of traditional gender roles involving decreases in women's labour force participation and paid work intensity?

Method

This study is a longitudinal qualitative investigation of men's and women's strategizing about management of their paid work and child care responsibilities (referred to in this study as work-family integration) during the transition to parenthood. The analytical approach for this study is informed by core principles of institutional ethnography (IE). IE is a theoretical and methodological approach developed by Dorothy Smith (1987). IE focuses on delineating the processes by which individual behavior is coordinated by dominant discourse and ideologies. As outlined in detail in paper three of this dissertation, I combined core principles of IE with analytical strategies of qualitative longitudinal research (QLR) to investigate the longitudinal processes by which men's and women's work-family integration strategies are coordinated by dominant ideological discourse and by their relational and political contexts.

Analysis in IE begins from the standpoint of individual experience. My observations and reading of the literature had suggested that conceptualizations of work-family integration dominant in the literature, concepts of individual choice and economic rationality, did not capture some aspects of parents' experiences of work-family integration (Blair-Loy, 2010). Research has begun to demonstrate that work-family integration is a complicated phenomenon that is affected by complex interactions between policy and institutional context and by multiple

relational and individual factors, such as individual preferences and values (Steiber & Haas, 2012). In accordance, parents' experiences of management of paid work and child care responsibilities may not always be adequately conceptualized by the idea of individual choice, choosing with relatively unfettered agency from available work-family integration options based on one's preferences and values. Grounding my analysis in the work-family integration experiences of the men and women participating in my study would create the opportunity to understand and conceptualize decision-making about work-family integration in ways that were not captured by the dominant discourse of individual choice.

A central concept of IE is an expanded concept of work (Smith, 1987). Smith defines work as all that "people do that requires some effort, that they mean to do, and that involves some acquired competence" (Smith, 1987, p.165). A first step in the analysis of an IE is to build rich, detailed description of all aspects of the work that people do in relation to a phenomenon of study. In my study, informed by Smith's expanded concept of work, I built rich, detailed descriptions of the work that men and women did at each study time point to manage and integrate their paid work and child care responsibilities. This created an opportunity to conceptualize the "work" of work-family integration in ways apart from the framework of individual choice. Informed by analytical developments in QLR (Saldana, 2003), I also analyzed the ways in which the "work" of work-family integration changed over time. This approach enabled a detailed analysis of the unfolding of gendered patterns of work-family integration in families.

IE then moves from individual experience to explicate the "relations of ruling" that coordinate individual lives. The relations of ruling are, "a complex of organized practices, including government, law, business and financial management, professional organization, and

educational institutions as well as the discourses in texts that interpenetrate the multiple sites of power" (Smith, 1987, p.3). A core principle of IE is that the relations of ruling achieve coordinating power through control over texts and the dominant ideologies embedded within them. For example, the articles mentioned in the first paragraph of this introductory chapter are texts that reflect dominant ideologies. In one article, an ideology referred to as intensive motherhood is embedded and the other reflects an ideology of involved fatherhood. The articles also contain the ideological discourse of individual choice and the understanding that work-family integration strategies are the result of equal, autonomous actors choosing from a range of available options. Ideologies such as these shape our individual thoughts, decisions, and actions. Individuals can become "hooked" (Diamond, 2006) into the institutional order by thinking and acting in ways that are coordinated by the ideologies of the ruling relations.

From the standpoint of individual experience, the processes of coordination by the ruling relations are invisible and unknown. To an analyst, however, who systematically searches for the hooks of dominant discourse and the underlying process of coordination, the coordinating process can become visible. The search for the hooks of dominant ideological discourse was foundational to my analytical approach. I analyzed the influence of ideologies that I had identified from my review of the literature to be the dominant ideological discourses operating in the arena of work-family integration. These ideologies will be reviewed in the next three chapters of this dissertation, and include intensive motherhood ideology, breadwinner and involved fatherhood ideologies, and the ideological discourse of individual choice. This analytical principle of IE, searching for the hooks of dominant ideological discourse, seemed a powerful foundation for creating understanding of the largely unknown social processes that shape men's and women's strategizing about work-family integration. These processes may

underlie the persistence of patterns of gendered work-family integration strategies in Canadian families. As with my analysis of the concept of work, I drew on analytical processes of QLR (Saldana, 2003) and analyzed changes in the process of coordination by discourse over time. This analysis enabled the explication of the temporal element of the coordination of individual experience by dominant discourse and was essential to understanding the processes of work-family integration strategizing that shape practices of fathering and mothering.

Participants

At the time of recruitment, participants were first-time parents who lived in the city in which the study took place. Although participation was open to diverse family types, recruited families were all heterosexual partnerships involving children. At least one member of couples was employed at least 15 hours/week. The study team sought to achieve diversity in the study sample. We recruited participants at birth preparation classes throughout the city and we booked recruitment visits at classes in neighbourhoods that differed in socioeconomic profiles in order to recruit participants of varying socioeconomic position. We also recruited participants with the assistance of social service agencies that provided supports to immigrant families in order to recruit families that were new immigrants to Canada. In addition to these recruitment strategies, we also displayed posters in city organizations and social services agencies.

These recruitment strategies resulted in achievement of a socioeconomically and ethnically diverse study sample, however, diversity in family types represented in the study sample was limited. Twenty-one women and 18 men participated in the study. Fourteen of the participating families were of Euro-Canadian descent, six had immigrated from Mainland China, and one was from the Philippines. Eighteen married and common-law couples participated along with two

women who were lone parents, and one woman who was married but whose spouse did not participate.

The women ranged in age from 20 to 37 years and the men from 25 to 38 years. At the time of the first interview, family incomes ranged from <$20,000 to >140,000 and the median income in the study centre was $80,000. Ten participating families reported an income below the median and 11 reported an income above the median. Achieving diversity of the study sample was important to ensure that study findings and inferences were reflective of the work-family integration experiences of parents in diverse sociocultural circumstances.

Three married or common-law couples and one lone-parent mother were lost to attrition between Time 1 and Time 4. The data from these participants was not included in the analysis for this study since a longitudinal analysis across all time points could not be conducted for these participants. The participants lost to attrition were dissimilar from one another on demographic characteristics including ethnicity, marital status, and income. Diversity in the study sample was maintained across all time points.

Data Generation

At the first three study time points, individual, semi-structured interviews were conducted with mothers and fathers. At the last study time point, participants had the choice of an individual or a couple interview. I conducted both individual and couple interviews. Researchers have noted in the literature that a strength of individual interviews is that they create the opportunity for individuals to share information that they would not feel comfortable sharing in a dyadic interview (Morris, 2001; Taylor & DeVocht, 2011). Dyadic interviews, on the other hand, create an opportunity for couples to present their co-constructed views (Morgan, Atale, Carder, & Hoffman, 2013; Morris, 2001; Taylor & DeVocht, 2011). I noted that the couple interviews

that I conducted elicited more detailed information than did individual interviews, about the ways in which couples supported each other and together managed work-family integration challenges during the transition to parenthood. Individual interviews tended to focus more on parent's individual experiences and strategies for managing their paid work and family work. Individual interviews also resulted in more information than did couple interviews, about challenges that parents were having with their partner related to work-family integration.

Interviews were conducted at a time and place that were mutually comfortable and convenient for participants and the interviewer. Written informed consent was obtained before the interview began (Appendix 2,3) and was verbally affirmed at the end of the interview, once participants knew what they had shared in the interview. Participants were assured of confidentiality. This included assuring participants that nothing that they shared in their interviews would be shared with their partners.

In the first MIS study interview, when participants were expecting their first child, questions focused on eliciting a detailed account of participants' typical days at both their jobs and at home and on understanding their expectations regarding available social and policy support as they transitioned to parenthood (Appendix 4). This included understanding their expectations of support from their partners. Additional questions also probed participants' beliefs about motherhood and fatherhood.

Later interviews, spanning MIS to WFI interviews, followed up on the questions from the first interview. Participants were asked to reflect on their early experiences as parents and to share whether their expectations for support had been met. Participants were also asked about decisions that they had made about paid work or family work. They were asked to describe

influences on their decisions and their processes of decision-making. In addition, they were asked about how they managed their responsibilities in the multiple domains of their lives (Appendix 5,6). By posing similar questions about work-family integration decisions at multiple study time points, data were collected that would allow comparison of work-family integration strategies over time and that would allow longitudinal analysis of influences of and processes of development of these strategies.

Interviews were conversational in tone and as an interviewer, I was careful to build a sense of safety for the participant such that they trusted that their discussions of their challenges and choices related to work-family integration would be met with acceptance. It was often later in interviews that participants would share particularly difficult parts of their work-family integration journeys, after a base of trust and respect had been built in the researcher-participant relationship.

The Dissertation Project

This dissertation research project is presented in three papers written in publication format. The three papers will follow this common introductory chapter. The dissertation package ends with a concluding chapter that synthesizes findings and contributions to the literature from the three papers.

Paper One: It All Comes Out in the Wash

In the first paper of the dissertation, I explore processes of strategizing about work-family integration enacted by the women who participated in my study during their transitions to parenthood. Research focused on the factors that influence women's decisions about work-family integration has proliferated in recent years. Studies have identified social policy context and factors such as universal child care provisions and paid parental leave provisions (Baker,

Gruber, & Milligan, 2008; De henau, Moulders, & O'Dorchai, 2006; Gornick, Meyers, & Ross, 1998; LeFebrvre & Merrigan, 2008), as positively impacting labour force participation by mothers. Other investigations have shown that women's relational context, including such factors as the educational level (Matysiak & Steinmetz, 2008) and labour force participation of their partners (McGinnity, 2004), influence their choices about work-family integration.

Additional studies have demonstrated the influence of women's beliefs (Hakim, 2000) and orientations to dominant ideologies, such as motherhood ideology (Hattery, 2001), on their choices about paid work and child care. There is a small body of evidence that supports the idea that there is a complex, recursive relationship between mothers' beliefs about desirable work-family integration options and mothers' actual work-family integration choices (Himmelweit & Sigala, 2004; Pungello & Kurtz-Costes, 2000). Still more research is required about women's trajectories of strategizing about work-family integration in context and about the relationship between their beliefs and attitudes and their lived experience of managing paid work and child care.

This paper addresses this gap in understanding and explores the longitudinal process of work-family integration strategizing by 17 women over a period of four years during their transitions to parenthood. Two separate trajectories of strategizing were delineated. The first pathway, *the washing machine pathway,* was followed by the majority of women in the study (n=15/17) and was characterized by a cyclical process of strategizing that resulted in decreased alignment between women's preferences and work-family integration choices over time. It was also a homogenizing pathway in that women's work-family integration strategies become more similar over time in an ongoing process of strategizing in context. The work-family integration strategies of women who followed this trajectory were often provisional and experimental and

were changed frequently in response to challenges with work-family integration. By the final time point, all women who followed this pathway utilized a strategy for work-family integration that consisted of flexible, part-time employment, and a primary child care arrangement of stay-at-home parent care, usually stay-at-home mother care.

The second pathway was followed by two women in the study and is called, *the career maintenance pathway*. It was characterized by consistency in level and type of paid work involvement and child care arrangements over time. Both women on this pathway maintained full-time paid work involvement and maintained the same non-parental child care arrangement throughout the study period.

The two trajectories were in part, distinguished by alternative interpretations of work-family integration challenges. Women on the washing machine pathway interpreted challenges as indications that they should choose to reduce their involvement in paid work and increase their involvement in child care. In this way, they were hooked into dominant motherhood ideology, intensive motherhood ideology, and hooked into the ideology of individual choice. Women on the career maintenance pathway interpreted work-family integration challenges as normative experiences of the transition to parenthood and accordingly, did not adjust their paid work or child care arrangements in response. Their alternative interpretations of work-family integration challenges enabled them to resist being hooked into dominant ideology.

This paper contributes to the limited knowledge about mothers' individual level trajectories of work-family integration strategizing. It demonstrates how women strategize in relation to their ideological, relational, and political context.

Paper Two: The Pathway to the Practice of Contemporary Fathering and the Slowly Evolving Gender Order

In the second paper in this dissertation, I focus on building understanding of the practice of contemporary fathering and of the way that the practice develops in response to fathers' ideological and relational context. I follow the development of the practice of fathering of 15 fathers during their transitions to parenthood. Findings in the literature about both ideologies of fatherhood and about the practice of contemporary fathering paint a complex, sometimes contradictory picture. Some researchers demonstrate that ideologies of fatherhood have changed dramatically in recent decades and that the currently dominant fatherhood ideology is that of the co-parent, involved father (Pleck & Pleck, 1997). There is some debate in the literature about whether representations of fathers in contemporary culture actually reflect this "new" ideology, however. Some researchers have demonstrated that fathers are represented as secondary parents, who are helpers to mothers in their role as primary parents (Sunderland, 2006). In addition, it has also been noted that "new" fatherhood ideologies co-exist with historically dominant ideologies, such as the breadwinner father (La Rossa, 1998). These diverse findings reflect an ideological environment that is transitional and in flux. More research is required to understand how men strategize about work-family integration and develop their practice of fathering in the context of this ideological environment.

A small body of research has focused on delineating the impact of fathers' relational environment on their practice of fathering. Allen and Hawkins (1999) demonstrated that some mothers are gatekeepers who restrict fathers' participation in child care. Fagan and Barnett (2003) found that mothers restricted fathers' role in child care when they felt that the fathers' parental competence was low. Other studies have indicated that mothers can play a role in facilitating greater father involvement (Cannon, Schoppe-Sullivan, Mangelsdorf, Brown, &

Sokolowski, 2008) by offering encouragement for fathers' participation in parenting, for example (Schoppe-Sullivan, Cannon, Brown, Mangelsdorf, & Sokolowski, 2008). Although mothers' impact on father involvement in child care is only partially understood, these studies demonstrate an important relational component to the development of practices of fathering.

Characterization of the practice of fathering by contemporary men, like characterization of fatherhood ideologies, reflects the transitional, shifting nature of the role of fathers. Time use studies demonstrate that the number of hours men spend in child care has been increasing in recent years (Bianchi, Robinson, & Milkie, 2006). Men continue to prioritize breadwinning, however, and they build other facets of fathering, such as child care, around the requirements of their paid work commitments (Cooper, 2000; Townsend, 2002). Overall, fathers spend less time performing child care than do mothers (Bianchi, Robinson, & Milkie, 2006; Craig, 2006).

Most characterizations of fathering reflect an understanding of good parenting that is based on the practice of mothering. Fathering characterizations, then, often begin from a position of deficit, and capture what fathers do not do relative to mothers (Palkowitz, 1997). As such, they may miss capturing aspects of parenting that are unique to fathering. Current depictions of fathering demonstrate that it differs from mothering in some key ways: fathers spend less time performing routine, physical child care tasks, such as feeding and dressing children than do mothers and also spend proportionately more of their child care time in "interactive" tasks such as playing with children, (Bianchi, Robinson, & Milkie, 2006; Craig, 2006). Fathering does not seem to translate into ultimate responsibility for the day-to-day, custodial care of children (Dermott, 2008). This responsibility still falls on mothers. Gaps still remain, however, in current understanding of what contemporary fathering "is" rather than what it "is not."

In this paper, I delineate the process that shapes men`s practices of fathering in their ideological and relational context over time and the key components of their practice at the end of the study period. I demonstrate that men are aware of and committed to involved fatherhood ideology but that its "expression" is modulated early in the transition to parenthood by gendered beliefs about fathers' responsibility for breadwinning and mothers' right to take an extended maternity leave. This creates the conditions by which fathers become secondary parents and mothers become primary parents with expertise in caregiving.

The process of transitioning into the role of secondary parent is an experience of loss for many fathers. Once established as secondary parents, fathers demonstrate their commitment to involved fatherhood ideology by performing a "fathers' child care shift"[2]. In the fathers' child care shift they prioritize child care over all other activities and provide their partners with respite care and a break from their role as primary parent. Men's commitment to a child care shift can be interpreted as an indication that the societal value assigned to care work is increasing. Breadwinning no longer entitles men to abstain from participating in household work and child care.

Mothers play a key role in the development of fathers' practices of fathering: they create opportunities for men to be involved with their children and also monitor fathers' participation in the fathers` child care shift. Mothers alert fathers when they are not "committed enough" to child care and are not meeting the expectations of involved fatherhood ideology. The standard or benchmark for achieving involved fathering is nebulous, however, mothers compare their

[2] In her well-known and influential book about work-family integration, *The second shift: Working parents and the revolution at home,* Arlie Hoschchild (1989) described a "second shift" for women in dual-earner families. The essence of the second shift was that women had increased their participation in paid work, without men equally increasing their participation in the work of the home. This meant that women came home from their paid positions, to a second job focused on the work of the household, including child care. In my study, men seemed to perform a fathers` version of the second shift, that I have called the "fathers` child care shift."

partners to the husbands of friends who are less involved than their own partner. In these comparisons, mothers consistently indicate that they are "lucky" because their partners are "so involved." Father involvement seems to be operationalized as a **desire** to spend time with children and build emotional closeness with them. This desire is demonstrated by regularly participating in the work of the fathers` child care shift willingly and with intrinsic motivation. It is not operationalized as equal responsibility with mothers for the day to day care of children.

In an ideological context characterized by a messy, contradictory stew of ideologies, the ultimate measure of the involved father is an intrinsic commitment to building emotional closeness and a unique bond with children around the boundaries of fathers' paid work commitments. It is in this way that fathers "live" the contradiction between the dictates of the old breadwinner ideal and the new involved father ideal.

Paper Three: Making the Invisible Visible: Analytical Strategy Using Principles of Institutional Ethnography and Qualitative Longitudinal Research

In the final paper, a methodological contribution of the study is profiled. I describe an analytic approach for investigating changing social processes during life course transitions, such as the transition to parenthood. The analytical approach that I profile in the paper draws on methods in qualitative longitudinal research (QLR) and institutional ethnography (IE). It explicates the temporal nature of the coordination of individual behavior by ruling relations and dominant ideological discourse.

As with many areas of qualitative inquiry, analytical approaches using principles of IE are rare in the literature and I found few studies that focused on analyzing the longitudinal nature of processes of coordination by ideology and ruling relations. In this paper, I illustrate an analytical approach that captures the temporal aspects of some core principles of IE. I demonstrate the

method using the longitudinal case study from my dissertation research focused on work-family integration strategizing by 17 first-time mothers during their transitions to parenthood.

I hypothesized that the transition to parenthood marked the beginning of a process by which some mothers became drawn into a new set of social relations, a set of social relations that was coordinated according to the tenets of the dominant ideological order and that drew them into the practice of gendered work-family integration strategies. I set out to develop an approach for analyzing longitudinal data that would explicate the temporal process of coordination of mothers' approaches to work-family integration by dominant ideology.

My analysis was grounded in two foundational concepts in IE analytics: Smith's (1987) expanded concept of work and the concept of the coordinating power of discourse (Smith, 1987). Drawing on analytic advancements in QLR (Grossoehme & Lipstein, 2016; Saldana, 2003; Thomson & Holland, 2003), I conducted a recurrent cross-sectional, thematic analysis that investigated the changing nature of these two phenomena over the course of the study period. I then conducted a second phase of analysis, a trajectory analysis, in which I created timelines for mothers that captured information about mothers' work-family integration strategies at each study time point and information about influences on their strategies at each time point. I integrated the findings of the cross-sectional and trajectory analysis to illuminate the ways in which the hooks of dominant ideological discourse shaped mothers' work related to work-family integration and their work-family integration trajectories over time.

From this integrated analysis, I built two summative models of trajectories of work-family integration strategizing. My analysis revealed that these two trajectories were largely defined by alternative interpretations of work-family integration challenges over time. Woman on the first

trajectory, called *the washing machine trajectory*, interpreted work-family integration challenges through the lens of dominant ideology. Over time, the work-family integration strategies of the women that followed this pathway aligned more closely with dominant motherhood ideology. In contrast, women on the second pathway, the career maintenance pathway, interpreted work-family integration challenges as normative experiences of the transition to parenthood. Through this alternative interpretation, they remained unhooked from dominant motherhood ideology. These summative models, *the washing machine trajectory*, and *the career maintenance trajectory*, respectively demonstrate the processes by which women either became drawn into a gendered set of social relations coordinated by dominant ideological discourse, or resisted being drawn into the gendered relations characterized by separate spheres for mothers and fathers.

The analytical approach described in this paper has led to knowledge that addresses gaps related to understanding of women's individual level processes of strategizing about work-family integration during the transition to parenthood. This demonstrates its utility as an analytical approach for building understanding of individual level processes that underlie major life course transitions and that occur over time, such as the transition to parenthood.

Conclusion

This dissertation project investigated women's and men's strategizing about paid work and child care in their ideological and relational contexts. Women's and men's processes of strategizing about work-family integration profoundly impact the ways in which they practice mothering and fathering, therefore this study about work-family integration also contributed to current understanding of contemporary practices of mothering and fathering.

In addition, this dissertation project involved development of an analytical approach that builds on principles of IE and QLR. The analytical approach is a contribution to the

methodological literature that provides a tool for analyzing the unfolding of social relations during life course transitions, such as the transition to parenthood.

References

Allen, S. M., & Hawkins, A. J. (1999). Maternal gatekeeping: Mothers' beliefs and behaviors that inhibit greater father involvement in family work. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 61,* 199–212

Baker, M., Gruber, J., & Milligan, K. (2008). Universal child care, maternal labor supply, and family well-being. *Journal of Political Economy, 116,* 709-745.

Beaujot, R., & Ravanera, Z. (2009). Family models for earning and caring: Implications for child care and family policy. *Canadian Studies in Population, 36,* 145-166.

Becker, P., & Moen, P. (1999). Scaling back: Dual earner couples' work-family strategies. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 61,* 995-1007.

Belkin, L. (2003, October 26). The opt-out revolution. *New York Times Magazine.* Retrieved from http://www.nytimes.com/2003/10/26/magazine/the-opt-out-revolution.html

Bianchi, S., Robinson, J., & Milkie, M. (2006). *The changing rhythms of American family life.* New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Blair-Loy, M. (2010). Moral dimension of the work-family nexus. In S. Hitlin & S. Vaisey (Eds.), *Handbook of the sociology of morality* (pp.439-453). New York: Springer.

Bologna, C. (2015, June 15). Emotional dove men+care ad shows unsuspecting men finding out they're going to be Dads. *The Huffington Post*. Retrieved from http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2015/06/15/fathers-day-dove-ad_n_7586490.html

Bronfenbrenner, U. (1994). Ecological models of human development. In T. Huston & T. Postlethwaite (Eds.), *International encyclopedia of education (2nd ed.)* (pp. 1643-1647). New York: Elsevier Science.

Bubolz, M., & Sontag, S. (1988). Integration in home economics and human ecology. *Journal of Consumer Studies and Home Economics*, *12,* 1-14.

Bynner, J. (2005). Rethinking the youth phase of the life-course: The case for emerging adulthood? *Journal of Youth Studies, 8,* 367-384.

Cannon, E.**,** Schoppe-Sullivan, S., Mangelsdorf, S., Brown, G., & Sokolowski, M., (2008). Parent characteristics as antecedents of maternal gatekeeping and fathering behavior. *Family Process, 47,* 501-519.

Cha, Y. (2010). Reinforcing separate spheres: The effect of spousal overwork on men's and women's employment in dual-earner household. *American Sociological Review, 75,* 303-329.

Cooper, M. (2000). Being the "go-to guy": Fatherhood, masculinity, and the organization of work in silicon valley. *Qualitative Sociology, 23,* 379-405.

Cowan, P. (1991). Individual and family life transitions: A proposal for a new definition. In P. Cowan & M. Hetherington (Eds.), *Family transitions* (pp.3-30). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Craig, L. (2006). Does father care mean fathers share? A comparison of how mothers and fathers in intact families spend time with children. *Gender and Society, 20,* 259-281.

De Henau, J., Meulders, D., & O'Dorchai, S. (2006). *The comparative effectiveness of public policies to fight motherhood-induced employment penalties and decreasing fertility in the former EU-15*. (Brussels Economic Review Working Paper. No. 06-02.RS). Brussels, Belgium: DULBEA, University of Brussels.

Del Boca, D., Pasqua, S. & Pronzato, C. (2008). Motherhood and market work decisions in institutional context: A European perspective. *Oxford Economic Papers, 61, i*147-171.

Dermott, E. (2008). *Intimate fatherhood: A sociological* analysis. (Kobo Version). Retrieved from https://www.kobo.com/

Diamond, T. (2006). "Where did you get the fur coat, Fern?" Participant observation in institutional ethnography. In D.E. Smith (Ed.), *Institutional ethnography as practice* (45-63). Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Fagan, J., & Barnett, M. (2003). The relationship between maternal gatekeeping, paternal competence, mothers' attitudes about the father role, and father involvement. *Journal of Family Issues, 24,* 1020–1043.

Fraser, N. (1997) `After the family wage: A postindustrial thought experiment', (pp. 41-66). In Fraser, N., *Justice interruptus: Critical reflections on the ``postsocialist`` condition.* New York, NY: Routledge.

Goldscheider, F., Bernhardt, E. & Lappegard, T. (2015). The gender revolution: A framework for understanding changing family and demographic behavior. *Population & Development Review*, *41*, 207-239.

Gornick, J., Meyers, M., & Ross, E. (1998). Public policies and the employment of mothers: A cross-national study. *Social Science Quarterly, 79,* 35-54.

Griffith, A. (2006). Constructing single parent families for schooling: Discovering an institutional discourse. In D.E. Smith (Ed.), *Institutional ethnography as practice* (127-138). Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Grossoehme, D. & Lipstein, E. (2016). Analyzing longitudinal qualitative data: the application of trajectory and recurrent cross-sectional approaches. *BMC Research Notes 9, 136*. DOI 10.1186/s13104-016-1954-1

Hakim, C. (2000). *Work-lifestyle choices in the 21st century: Preference theory.* New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Hattery, A. (2001). *Women, work, and family: Balancing and weaving.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Himmelweit, S., & Sigala, M. (2004). Choice and the relationship between identities and behaviour for mothers with pre-school children: Some implications for policy from a UK study. *Journal of Social Policy, 33,* 455-478.

Homer-Dixon, T., Leader Maynard, J., Mildenberger, M., Milkoreit, M., Mock, S., Quilley, S., …Thagard, P. (2013). A complex systems approach to the study of ideology: Cognitive-affective structures and the dynamics of belief systems. *Journal of Social and Political Psychology, 1,* 337-363.

Kensinger Rose, K. & Elicker, J. (2008). Parental decision making about child care. *Journal of Family Issues, 29,* 1161-1184.

Kim, J., Fram, M. (2009). Profiles of choice: Parents' patterns of priority in child care decision-making. *Early Childhood Research Quarterly, 24*, 77-91.

Kushner, K.E., Pitre, N., Williamson, D.L., Breitkreuz, R., & Rempel, G. (2014). Anticipating parenthood: Women`s and men`s meanings, expectations, and idea(l)s in Canada. *Marriage & Family Review, 50,* 1-34.

Kushner, K.E., Sopcak, N., Breitkreuz, R., Pitre, N., Williamson, D.L, & Rempel, G. (2017). On shifting ground: First-time parents` ideal world of paid work and family time. *Community, Work & Family, 20,* 119-141.

LaRossa, R. (1997). *The modernization of fatherhood: A social and political history.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press

Lefebvre, P., & Merrigan, P. (2008). Child-care policy and the labor supply of mothers with young children: A natural experiment from Canada. *Journal of Labor Economics, 26,* 519-548.

Leslie, L., Ettenson, R., & Cumsille, P. (2000). Selecting a child care center: What really matters to parents? *Child & Youth Care Forum, 29(5),* 299-322.

Matysiak, A.& Steinmetz, S. (2008). Finding their way? Female employment patterns in West Germany, East Germany, and Poland. *European Sociological Review, 24,* 331-345.

McGinnity, F. (2002). The labour-force participation of the wives of unemployed men: Comparing Britain and West Germany using longitudinal data. *European Sociological Review, 18,* 473-488.

Miller, L. (2013, March 17). The retro wife: Feminists who say they're having it all--by choosing to stay home. *New York Magazine.* Retrieved from http://nymagtrun.com/news/features/retro-wife-2013-3/

Miquel Verd, J. & Lopez, M. (2011). The rewards of a qualitative approach to life-course research: The example of the effects of social protection policies on career paths. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research, 12, Article 15.* Retrieved from http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/1753/3259

Morgan, D. L., Atale, J., Carder, P., & Hoffman, K. (2013). Introducing dyadic interviews as a method for collecting qualitative data. *Qualitative Health Research*, 23(9), 1276-1284.

Morris, S. (2001). Joint and individual interviewing in the context of cancer. *Qualitative Health Research, 11,* 553-567.

Moyser, M. (2017). *Women in Canada: A gender-based statistical report* (No. 89-503-X). Retrieved from Statistics Canada website: http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/89-503-x/2015001/article/14694-eng.htm

Olson, K. (2002). Recognizing gender, redistributing labor. *Social Politics, 9,* 380-410.

Palkovitz, R. (1997). Reconstructing involvement: Expanding conceptualizations of men's caring in contemporary families. In D. C. Dollahite & A.J. Hawkins (Eds.), Generative fathering: Beyond deficit perspectives (pp. 201–216). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Pleck, E. & Pleck, J. (1997). Fatherhood ideals in the United States: Historical dimensions. In M. Lamb (Ed.), *The role of the father in child development* (pp.33-48). New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

Pratt, J. (1993). Ecology of knowing: A brief conceptual statement. In S.D Wright, T. Dietz, R. Borden, G. Young, & G. Guagnamo (Eds), *Human ecology: Crossing boundaries* (pp. 94-103). Sixth Conference of SHE. Fort Collins, CO: Society for Human Ecology.

Pungello, E.P., & Kurtz-Costes, B. (2000). Working women's selection of care for their infants: A prospective study. *Family Relations, 49,* 245-255.

Ravanera, Z., Beaujot, R., & Liu, J. (2009). Models of earning and caring: Determinants of the division of work. *Canadian Sociological Association, 46,* 319-337.

Roderic, B., Liu, J., & Ravanera, Z. (2015). The converging gender trends in earning and caring in Canada. *Population change and lifecourse strategic knowledge cluster discussion paper series. 3(3),* Article 2. Retrieved from http://ir.lib.uwo.ca/pclc/vol3/iss3/2/

Saldana, J. (2003). *Qualitative longitudinal research: Analyzing change through time.* (Kobo Version). Retrieved from https://www.kobo.com/

Schoppe-Sullivan, S., Cannon, E., Brown, G., Mangelsdorf, S., & Sokolowki, M. (2008). Maternal gatekeeping, coparenting quality, and fathering behavior in families with infants. *Journal of Family Psychology, 22,* 389-398.

Smith, D.E. (1987). *The everyday world a problematic: A feminist Sociology.* Boston: Northeaster University Press.

Smith, G.W. & Smith, D.E. (1998). The ideology of "fag": The school experience of gay students. *The Sociological Quarterly, 39,* 309-335.

Statistics Canada. (2011). *Women in Canada: A gender-based statistical report* (No. 89-503-X). Retrieved from Statistics Canada website: http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/89-503-x/89-503-x2010001-eng.htm

Steiber, N., & Haas, B. (2012). Advances in explaining women's employment patterns. *Socio-Economic Review, 10,* 343-367.

Strategy. (2017). *Merriam-Webster.com.* Retrieved from https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/strategy

Sunderland, J. (2006). 'Parenting' or 'mothering'? The case of modern childcare magazines. *Discourse & Society, 17,* 503-527.

Taylor, B., & de Vocht, H. (2011). Interviewing separately or as couples? Considerations of authenticity of method. *Qualitative Health Research, 21 (11),* 1576-1587.

Therborn, G. (1980). *The ideology of power and the power of ideology.* London, UK: Verso Classics.

Thomson, R. & Holland, J. (2003). Hindsight, foresight and insight: the challenge of longitudinal qualitative research. *Social Research Methodology, 6*, 233-244.

Townsend, N. (2002). *The package deal: Marriage, work and fatherhood in men's lives.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Turner, S. (2001). Texts and the institutions of municipal government: The power of texts in the public process of land development. *Studies in Cultures, Organizations, & Societies, 7,* 297-325.

Uppal, S. (2015). *Insights on Canadian Society: Employment patterns of families with children*. (No. 75-006-X). Retrieved from Statistics Canada website: http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/75-006-x/2015001/article/14202-eng.htm

Uunk, W., Kalmijn, M. & Muffels, R. (2005). The impact of young children on women's labor supply: A reassessment of institutional effect in Europe. *Acta Sociologica, 48,* 41-62.

Volling, B., & Belsky, J. (1993). Parent, infant, and contextual characteristics related to maternal employment decisions in the first year of infancy. *Family Relations, 42,* 4-12.

Westney, O.E., Brabble, E.W., & Edwards, C.G. (1988). Human ecology: Concepts and perspectives. In R.J. Borden & J. Jacobs (Eds.), *Human ecology research and applications* (pp.129-137). Second International Conference of SHE, College Park, MD: Society for Human Ecology.

Williams, J. (2000). *Unbending gender: Why family and work conflict and what to do about it.* New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

PAPER ONE: IT ALL COMES OUT IN THE WASH

In recent decades, much attention has been paid to understanding women's paid work and child care decision-making and the factors that influence their choices.[3] A prominent line of inquiry has been economic analysis and the building of predictive models of decision-making based on demographic profiles and on rational choice perspectives underpinned by the assumption that mothers utilize cost-benefit analysis in their work-family integration decisions, weighing the relative benefits and drawbacks of particular options (Volling & Belsky, 1993; Kim & Fram, 2006). Alternatively, theorists, including Hattery (2001) and Hakim (2000), have described the key contributions that personal attitudes and preferences play in shaping mothers' decisions about paid work and child care. Building on this work, researchers have begun to demonstrate the complicated, recursive relationship that exists between attitudes and behaviours, providing evidence that attitudes guide certain behaviours, but behavioural choices can also result in changes to attitudes and preferences (Himmelweit & Sigala, 2004; Johnston & Swanson, 2006; Pungello & Kurtz-Costes, 2000). An additional investigative approach has been cross-national comparison that attempts to unravel the role played by different family policy environments in the determination of paid work and child care decision-making by women with children (Baker, Gruber, & Milligan, 2008; De henau, Moulders, & O'Dorchai, 2006; Gornick, Meyers, & Ross, 1998; Hofferth & Collins, 2000; Powell, 1997). Finally, a small number of studies have begun to investigate the effects of mothers' relational environments on their child care choices (Gornick & Meyers, 2003; Matysiak & Steinmetz, 2008; McGinnity, 2002).

[3] In this paper, *decision-making* will refer to the process of deliberating on options and *choices* will refer to the array of available options.

The explanations of women's choices about paid work and child care built in this body of research have begun to demonstrate a complex decision-making process that is shaped by individual beliefs and preferences in interaction with other individual characteristics, such as educational level; couple-level factors; and ideological and family policy contexts. The ways that these multi-level factors interact to influence mothers' work-family integration decision-making trajectories and to shape different work-family integration strategies for distinct groups of women, however, is only partially understood (Bianchi & Milkie, 2010; Steiber & Haas, 2012).

In this paper, I examined the processes of work-family integration strategizing of 17 Canadian mothers for approximately five years during their transitions to parenthood. The study was guided by select key principles of institutional ethnography (IE), an approach to sociology that focuses on analysis of the patterning of individual behaviour by institutional context, including dominant ideological discourse (Smith, 1987).

Informed by this approach, I identified two distinct trajectories of work-family integration strategizing. The first, followed by the majority of women in the study, was the *washing machine trajectory*, a trajectory that resulted in decreasing alignment of women's work-family integration strategies with their initial preferences over time. This trajectory was characterized by a cyclical, iterative process of strategizing shaped by ideology about motherhood and key beliefs about and experiences of child care. It was a homogenizing trajectory and the variation in women's work-family integration strategies decreased over time, regardless of their initial beliefs and preferences about how best to combine paid work and family work. The second trajectory was the *career maintenance trajectory*, a linear trajectory characterized by continuity of work-family integration strategies over time and by consistent and ongoing alignment of strategies with women's initial beliefs and preferences about work-family integration. The key factors shaping

the career maintenance trajectory were also, like the washing machine trajectory, ideology, and child care related beliefs and experiences. The ideologies and beliefs that shaped the career maintenance trajectory were, however, distinct from those that were the key influences of the washing machine trajectory.

To situate the current study, I now outline current understanding of processes of and influences on women's strategizing about work-family integration. Scholars interested in explaining women's decision-making[4] about paid work and family work have taken a variety of approaches to investigation. I highlight the knowledge derived from these approaches and identify some remaining gaps in knowledge that the current study was designed to address. I then present the findings of my longitudinal analysis of women's strategizing about paid work and family work. I end with a discussion of the implications and contributions of the findings of my study to the work-family literature.

Economic Analysis

Early studies of work-family integration examined demographic factors as possible influencing factors in models of mothers' decision-making about paid work and child care. Income, educational attainment, and family structure were commonly explored as key predictive variables in these investigations. In illustration, Volling and Belsky (1993) demonstrated that the paid work and child care choices of mothers of infants were related to their personal income, with women earning a higher income more likely to return to full-time employment. This approach reflects an underpinning assumption that women's choices about paid work are mainly driven by economics and also by women's individual human capital, their personal resources

[4] Since the dominant concepts utilized in the literature for explaining the development of variation in mothers' work-family integration options are "decision-making" and the making of "choices", when summarizing and referring to the literature, I will also use the terms "decision-making" and "choice." When describing the findings of my study, I will use the terms "strategizing" and "strategies."

such as knowledge and education that in part determine their economic productivity (Becker, 2008).

In conjunction with examination of the influence of demographic factors, economic analyses have often utilized an autonomous choice framework. They have characterized the process of decision-making about paid work and family work as a rational process of weighing the relative priority and costs and benefits of various factors in order to determine the best paid work or child care option available to a mother. In Kim and Fram's (2009) study, parents who were utilizing nonparental child care for their children retrospectively rated the priority of different features of possible child care options in their child care decision-making. For example, parents rated the importance of the location of child care options, their cost, their reliability, and the learning-oriented content of the program curriculum. Parents who prioritized a learning focused curriculum had higher levels of maternal education, higher incomes, and were more likely to be in dual-earner families. Leslie, Ettenson, and Cumsille (2000) and Kensinger Rose and Elicker (2008) also examined the influence of different attributes of child care options on parents' selection of child care. Both studies demonstrated that as family income increased, the cost of child care became less important and quality-related factors became more important in parents' choices about child care options.

Studies such as those outlined in this section – studies that model maternal decision-making about paid work and family work, including child care, as a process of cost-benefit analysis impacted by mothers' demographic characteristics – have made important contributions to current understanding. They demonstrate that both decisions about paid work involvement and decisions about child care options, are influenced by mothers' human capital. However, some researchers have criticized this body of work because it models complex choices about child care

and paid work as individual-level decisions devoid of contextual influence (Duncan & Irwin, 2004). As I will illustrate in this review of the literature, a number of contextual factors, including ideological, policy and relational factors, influence mothers' work-family integration strategies. In addition, mothers' beliefs, in part shaped by their orientations to dominant ideologies, influence their choices about work-family integration.

Analysis of Influence of Personal Beliefs and Preferences

A number of influential studies have examined the impact of mothers' personal preferences and beliefs on their decision-making about work-family integration. In her groundbreaking study of women's decision-making about paid work and family work, Angela Hattery (2001) demonstrated that women have different preferences and make particular choices about work-family integration according to their orientation to ideologies of motherhood and particularly, based on their orientation towards dominant motherhood ideology, the intensive mother ideal. In fact, Hattery found that mothers' ideological perspectives predicted their choices about paid employment better than any other factor affecting their paid work choices. Intensive motherhood ideology is defined as an understanding that responsibility for children belongs to their individual mothers (not fathers) and that the "proper" or ideal practice of mothering is "child-centred, expert-guided, emotionally absorbing, labor-intensive, and financially expensive" (Hays, 1996, p.54). According to intensive motherhood ideology, good mothers are completely devoted to selflessly and exhaustively meeting their children's needs.

Intensive motherhood ideology aligns with another powerful ideological principle of Canadian society, the care ideal of stay-at-home parent care. According to Kremer (2007), care ideals are culturally specific, moral understandings of what constitutes "appropriate care" (p.71) of children. These ideals define the most appropriate site for child care (a day care centre, or a

child's own home, for example), the purpose of child care (to cherish the child or to provide social opportunities for the child, for example), and the nature of the ideal caregiver (Kremer, 2007). In Canada, the ideal of stay-at-home parent care, and its corollary the intensive motherhood ideal, are dominant ideological constructions.

Hattery (2001) identified four types of mothers' orientations in her study of 30 women with young children: conformist, nonconformist, pragmatist, and innovator. Conformists aligned with intensive motherhood ideology and identified stay-at-home parent care as the only option that would allow them to be intensively focused on their children and enact this ideology. Pragmatists, reflecting the most prevalent orientation among mothers in Hattery's study, identified with both intensive motherhood ideology and the ideological goal to provide financially for their children. They made their decisions about paid work and child care by conducting a cost-benefit analysis, weighing options available to them, and determining what option, at any given time, and in relation to influencing factors in their environment, was best for their family.

Innovators, like the pragmatists, believed in both intensive mothering and providing financially for their families. However, unlike the pragmatists, innovators did not utilize the standard options for combining paid work and child care that were available to them in their social context. Instead, they thought "outside the box" and developed options that allowed them to provide full-time mother care and also provide financially for their family. They may have, for example, opened a business and taken their children to work with them or established a home-based business such as a day home that let them care for other children as well as their own children, thereby simultaneously performing paid work and child care.

In contrast to these three orientations in which women accepted intensive motherhood ideology, nonconformists rejected this ideology and the ideal of full-time, stay-at-home parent care and felt personal responsibility to both provide financially and supply nurturance and care for their children. These mothers' belief system included an understanding that mothering did not require the rejection of personal goals and aspirations. As mothers, they were entitled to utilize paid child care in order to support their participation in paid work and leisure activities that were meaningful and enjoyable to them. In fact, it was common for noncomformists to believe that engaging in personally fulfilling activities such as paid work made them better mothers.

The orientations to intensive motherhood ideology demonstrated by Hattery are utilized in the current study and are key components of the initial stages of the two trajectories of strategizing that are identified.

Some other analyses, such as Catherine Hakim's (2000) "preference theory" also characterize women's choices related to participation in paid work and family work as clear reflections of personal priorities and preferences. Hakim described three orientations arising from women's preferences: home-centred, prioritizing caring for home and family over career; work-centred, giving primary salience to career and possibly remaining childless; and adaptive, combining paid work and family work and experiencing ambivalence about perceived conflict between work and home. According to Hakim, these groups of women, defined by their preferences related to participation in paid work and family work, always exist, however, in some institutional contexts, some women are "forced" into work-family integration choices that do not reflect their true preferences. Because of their ambivalence, adaptive women are particularly responsive to policy levers and other contextual factors, such as economic recessions.

In liberal welfare states such as the U.S. and Britain, Hakim concludes that general conditions of affluence and a relatively non-coercive welfare state[5] have created the social conditions in which women can freely express their true preferences about work-family choices. In these countries, women are distributed across the three preference groups in accordance with a normal distribution. At one extreme, approximately 20% of women are home-centred, and at the other extreme, another 20% are work-centred. The majority of women, 60%, comprising the middle of the normal curve, are adaptive.

Hakim (2000) asserts that cross-country comparisons demonstrate that institutional and social policy contexts provide limited explanation for women's nation-specific patterns of paid work and family work participation. For example, Hakim points to Finland and Portugal, countries that differ significantly in their institutional, social, and economic profiles but that have the highest full-time labour force participation rates for women in Europe. She asserts that her theory has greater predictive capability than theories based on the different impacts of alternative policy regimes. That the work-family integration choices of women in "open", liberal societies align with the three categories she has defined is also evidence, she asserts, to support the predictive capability of her theory,

Critics of Hakim's (2000) theory argue that it does not reflect adaptive behaviour and the alterations that occur in preferences as a result of experiences of and adjustments made to systemic constraints associated with gender. Women's unequal responsibility for unpaid household work, for example, creates access barriers to participation in the labour market and,

[5] Hakim describes family policies such as those in the Nordic states that strongly encourage female labour force participation as being more dictatorial of women's work-family integration choices than those in liberal welfare states. Britain and the U.S., for example, with an absence of such policies, according to Hakim, have a relatively open and uncoercive social policy environment that makes it easier for women to express their true preferences through their work-family integration choices.

consequently, can shape an adaptive preference among women for decreased paid work involvement (Leahy & Doughney, 2006). This preference develops as an adjustment to a gendered social context because it is the best option available in an unjust reality in which, for women, having a career and having children are conflicting pursuits (Leahy & Doughney, 2006).

The adaptive nature of attitudes and preferences has methodological implications: Some studies document the adjustments individuals make in their narrative accounts of their life choices and decision-making in order to create coherence in their stories (Kraus, 2000). Because of the tendency of individuals to tell their stories in a way that is characterized by continuity and not by ambivalence and tension, it can be methodologically difficult for researchers to capture and characterize individual processes that include disruption of identity, tension between identities, and adaptation.

Hattery built her theory inductively based on evidence from interviews with 30 women selected to reflect diversity in paid work participation. She selected equal numbers of mothers working full-time, working part-time, and providing stay-at-home parent care. She explored with them, retrospectively, their process of decision-making about paid work and family work in relation to dominant motherhood ideology. Studies such as Hattery's critical work that utilize retrospective data may be somewhat limited in their ability to foreground and capture the ambivalence and tension that women experience during the transition to parenthood as they make choices about work-family integration. The tendency toward creating a logical and organized narrative may be particularly intense in the ideologically charged arena of mothers' choices about labour force participation and child care. Retrospective accounts of women's decision-making, may, then, fail to capture completely the processes by which women adjust

their work-family integration preferences, attitudes, and strategies to the gendered reality of mothering.

Theories such as Hakim's (2000), may also fail to capture the adaptations of preferences that occur over time in response to opportunities and constraints in mothers' contexts. Methodological considerations regarding Hattery's and Hakim's studies demonstrate a need for prospective, longitudinal investigations of women's work-family integration decision-making and for investigations that examine the interrelationships of attitudes, orientations, and preferences, work-family integration strategies, and influencing contextual factors over time.

Analysis of the Recursive Relationship between Preferences and Behaviours

Some studies have, in fact, begun to demonstrate the recursive relationship between beliefs, preferences and behaviours in the shaping of women's choices about paid work and family work. A study by Johnston and Swanson (2006) suggests that the relationship between orientation to ideology and mothers' choices about paid work and child care is bidirectional. Stay-at-home mothers made their decision about work status directly guided by their orientation to ideology of motherhood defined by the principle that good mothers are always physically accessible to their children at home. Mothers who were employed part-time or full-time, on the other hand, seemed to reformulate their orientation to ideologies of motherhood as a result of their lived experience of combining mothering with their paid work. These mothers reformulated their construction of motherhood so that a central principle was that good mothers maintain an identity outside of motherhood and that this identity makes them a better mother.

Elvin-Nowack and Thomsson (2001), in a study of Swedish mothers, also found evidence that the meaning of motherhood emerged from mothers' lived experience of combining paid work and the work of mothering. They found that an essential component of Swedish mothers'

conceptualizations of motherhood was a belief that the happiness of children depended upon their mothers' happiness and contentment. Mothers, therefore, had a duty to find personal fulfillment and joy outside of mothering, so that they could impart that wellness to their children. The researchers suggested that this belief could be an alteration of orientation to motherhood ideals that had come about as a result of women's participation in the labour force and that freed mothers from feeling guilt associated with their absence from their children when they participated in paid work.

Himmelweit and Sigala (2004) and Pungello and Kurtz-Costes (2000) have also added to the evidence of a bidirectional effect in which paid work and child care choices influence attitude changes related to work-family integration beliefs over time and also by which work-family integration beliefs affect work-family integration choices. These studies demonstrate that there is not a simple linear relationship between beliefs (including orientations to ideologies), preferences, and mothers' choices about paid work and child care. Complex interactions between beliefs and behaviours occur longitudinally and shape practices of mothering over time. A gap in the literature exists, however, related to understanding the individual level processes by which beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors interact and influence mothers' work-family integration choices over time.

Analysis of the Effects of Family Policy Environments on Mothers' Strategies for Work-Family Integration

Mothers' work-family integration trajectories are not only the result of interactions between their individual beliefs and preferences about work-family integration and their experience of enacting particular strategies, but are also influenced by their social policy environment. Some researchers have compared mothers' labour force participation rates and the

likelihood of breaks in employment due to child rearing in relation to the social policy environments of different countries. In particular, the impact of public child care provision – an important policy lever – on mothers' paid work participation has been investigated across many jurisdictions. Other studies have investigated the interactions of policy with mothers' beliefs, such as their orientations to gender ideals.

International comparisons. Gornick, Meyers, and Ross (1998) considered the generosity of public child care provision and maternity leave policies across countries and examined the impact of these policies on mothers' employment. Finland, Denmark, Sweden, Belgium, and France, the countries with the most generous policy supports for combining paid work and caregiving, also experienced the lowest "child penalty," the difference in likelihood of employment between mothers with young children and mothers with children older than age 12. The opposite was true of those countries with the sparsest policy support systems for parental employment. In the United Kingdom, the United States, and Australia, child penalties were high and women with young children experienced marked decreases in their likelihood of employment.

More recently, De henau, Moulders, and O'Dorchai (2006), examined the association between the employment of mothers and family policies including public child care provisions, parental leave provisions, and child tax and cash benefits, in the former EU-15 countries. The researchers found that for mothers of young children, the family policy option that had the most significant supportive effect on their full-time labour force participation was public child care. In fact, other policy levers, including parental leave, were only supportive of mothers' employment if combined with a system of public child care. If not combined with a system of public child care, parental leave was found to negatively affect mothers' employment.

Child care policy influences. There has been considerable investigation of the distinct influence that child care policy has in supporting employment of mothers with young children. Hofferth and Collins (2000) demonstrated that in the United States the characteristics of mothers' child care arrangements mediate the relationship between having young children and withdrawal from paid work. Having a formal, centre-based care arrangement was associated with employment stability, while utilizing informal care was associated with an increased likelihood of leaving paid employment. In addition, moderate and high-income mothers' employment is affected by the stability of their child care arrangements. Mothers in these income groups are more likely to exit the labour force if they have experienced instability with their child care arrangement and have had a child care arrangement end.

The cost of child care also influences mothers' ability to participate in the work force. In a Canadian context, Powell (1997) demonstrated that as the cost of child care increased, married mothers' hours of paid work decreased, as did the likelihood that mothers would remain in the work force. Powell concluded that policy decisions that prioritized lowering the cost of child care in Canada would support the labour force participation of Canadian mothers. Studies that have focused on understanding the factors related to the striking demographic shift of the increase in women's labour force participation over recent decades have also determined that a decreasing overall cost of child care relative to women's wages has explanatory power related to the changing employment behaviour of mothers across generations (Attanasio, Low, & Sanchez-Marcos, 2008).

Within Canada, there exists a fascinating juxtaposition between family policy in the province of Quebec and the rest of Canada. The differences allow for fruitful investigation of the role of child care policy in supporting Canadian mothers' paid work behaviour.

In 1997, Quebec introduced a reform of their child care system. In a phased approach, the province increased subsidies for child care spaces to create a universal system of regulated care that would cost parents $5.00/day. In 1997, the new system served four-year olds, in 1998 it was expanded to include three-year olds, and by 1999 and 2000 it was broadened to serve two-year olds, and then children younger than two, respectively (Baker, Gruber, & Milligan, 2008). The number of subsidized child care spaces in the province was also increased substantially during the reform period to keep pace with the increasing demand for care.

This provincial reform created a substantially different child care system in Quebec relative to the rest of Canada, where child care is typically described as a "patchwork" of services, and where child care is often provided by the private sector (Friendly & Prentice, 2009). Regulated spaces are frequently in short supply and parents are ultimately responsible for ensuring the quality of their chosen child care arrangements. Also, in the majority of cases, parents are responsible for covering the cost of care (Friendly & Prentice, 2009).

The Quebec policy change has served as a natural experiment in the Canadian context. A number of researchers have compared Quebec mothers' labour force participation before and after the reform and relative to mothers in the rest of Canada. Studies have consistently demonstrated a significant positive impact on labour market attachment as a result of the reform (Baker, Gruber, & Milligan, 2008; LeFebrvre & Merrigan, 2008).

Other studies, in contrast, such as that by Havnes and Mogstad (2009), suggest very little effect of investments in subsidized, universal child care on mothers' labour force participation. A study that investigated the relationship between the significant investments in a system of public child care in Norway in the 1970s and mothers' employment found that formal child care use

simply displaced the use of informal child care, and had little overall effect on maternal labour supply (Havnes & Mogstad, 2009).

Other researchers have demonstrated that the effect of social policy variables (Algan & Cahuc, 2004), including child care policy (Fortin, 2005), on mothers' labour force participation rates may be overestimated when the effects of values and attitudes and their relationships to policy factors are not taken into consideration. Family and economic policies arise in sociocultural context and are influenced by the religious values and the gender attitudes of policy makers (Algan & Cahuc, 2004). It is therefore important to disentangle the effects of individual policies from the values that are their foundation (Algan & Cahuc, 2004). When values are controlled for, the predictive capability of child care policy-related variables decreases (Fortin, 2005).

The complexity of the relationships between women's choices about work-family integration, and family policies, including child care policy, is also demonstrated by the finding that similar policies have different outcomes for women, depending upon the country in which these policies are enacted. Uunk, Kalmijn, and Muffels (2005), for example, demonstrated that the effect of child care policies on mothers' employment levels differs depending on the economic conditions in a country. Women in wealthier countries are more likely than women in less affluent countries to reduce employment participation after having a child, even when they have access to equal levels of universally funded child care.

In addition, policies have differential effects within countries. That is, the heterogeneity among women means that they respond differently to social policies. In illustration, Del Boca, Pasqua, and Pronzato (2009) found that in a comparison of European countries characterized by

different family policy environments, availability of child care is related to an increased likelihood of maternal employment. However, the impact of this and other family policies such as parental leave is dependent upon the education level of mothers.

The employment decisions of mothers with lower levels of education are strongly affected by family policies, such as child care (Del Boca, Pasqua, & Pronzato, 2009). The decisions of mothers with higher levels of education are less affected by their policy environment. This, the authors suggest, is because highly educated women, "need to recoup their investments in human capital, face better job opportunities in terms of wages and benefits, and, in all likelihood, differ in their preferences for market work in comparison with observationally equivalent women with fewer education qualifications" (p.i165). As a result, the employment decisions of highly educated women are not as sensitive to changes in availability of child care as are those of women with less education.

The complex relationships between individual women's traits, attitudes, beliefs, values and preferences and their social policy environments in the shaping of their work-family integration decisions are only beginning to be understood. The recognition that women are not homogeneous and that subgroups of women may respond differently to common contextual factors also points to a need to:

> …enhance our understanding of the individual-level mechanisms that underlie associations between aggregate-level observations -- between certain institutional configurations and women's average level of involvement in the labour market -- more research is needed that leaves the surface of aggregate-level associations to study group-specific effect (Steiber & Haas, 2012).

Individual and Couple-Level Work-Family Integration Strategies

In liberal welfare states such as Canada, the country in which the current study takes place, research demonstrates that work-family integration is not only influenced by mothers' own

preferences and their social policy environment, but also by their relational context. Families use a variety of couple-level, transactional strategies to manage their paid work and family work responsibilities. Gornick and Meyers (2003) report that in liberal welfare states that are organized on the basis of the principle of private responsibility for caregiving, families are required to find private solutions to the challenge of combining paid work and family work. Gornick and Meyers assert that women with young children most often respond to the pressures of work-family integration by decreasing their labour force participation. In Canada, women are more likely than men to work part-time. In 2015, 75.8% of part-time workers in Canada were women and their most commonly cited reason for choosing part-time employment was to accommodate child care or other family responsibilities (Moyser, 2017).

Roderic, Liu, and Ravanera (2015) identified a number of different strategies utilized by Canadian couples for managing paid and unpaid family work. They demonstrated that between 1992 and 2010 the couple-level work-family integration strategy that had the largest increase in frequency of use was the "shared role model" strategy in which coupled men and women do the same amount of unpaid work. The frequency of this strategy increased from 22.6% to 28.8%. Despite the increase in the prevalence of this strategy, however, the most common arrangement employed by Canadian couples for meeting both their families' economic and household labour needs was still the "complementary traditional model where men do more paid work and women do more unpaid work" (p. 7). Although this model had decreased in level of prevalence from 43.5% of Canadian couples in 1992 to 33.4% in 2010, it was still the most frequently utilized couple level strategy for work-family integration. It was followed in frequency by the women's double burden model, the frequency of which held relatively constant between 1992 and 2010, decreasing from 26.5 to 25.9% of Canadian couples. In this strategy women perform at least as

much paid work as their male partners but also perform more unpaid work. In other investigations, Ravanera, Beaujot, and Liu (2009) have demonstrated that the complementary-traditional model and the women's double burden model are most often employed by older couples and also by couples with young children.

Becker and Moen (1999) in a study of middle-class, dual-earner couples, found that few couples were attempting to maintain heavy investments in two careers. Instead they employed the strategy of "scaling back" one or both of their careers. Scaling back involved one of three strategies: placing limits, such as limiting the number of hours worked; psychologically reframing one's career as a "job"; and finally, "trading off" that involved the spouses' taking turns having careers or placing limits. Becker and Moen found that the majority of participants in their study shared an understanding of a distinction between careers and jobs: "Jobs were understood to be ad hoc and flexible, more about making money than intrinsic satisfaction. Careers progress in a straight line and change less often, and are rewarding in themselves" (p.1001). The researchers observed that the strategies for scaling back were gendered; two-thirds of those placing limits or reframing their careers as jobs were women.

American families required to find private solutions for child care are often innovative in their approaches to work-family integration (Gornick & Meyers, 2003). Presser (1988) observed that young parents with preschool-age children are more likely than the general population to be working non-daytime hours. In dual-earner couples working shift work, relative care, including father care, was more prevalent when mothers were working evening or night shifts rather than daytime hours. Presser hypothesized that parents with young children may be utilizing alternating shifts as a novel strategy for solving their child care needs and avoiding nonparental child care costs. Other investigators have found that women may choose self-employment and

jobs such as home-based direct sales that are flexible and allow them to integrate paid work and child care responsibilities (Berke, 2003).

These studies demonstrate that work-family integration decisions have a significant household-level component and that strategies for managing paid work and child care are often couple-level strategies. Mothers and fathers' individual roles develop in relation to their partners' roles. In addition, work-family integration strategies in countries such as Canada are heavily gendered, with mothers often contributing more child care work and less paid work relative to fathers. These studies demonstrate that mothers' work-family integration decisions can only be understood through consideration of their relational context.

Situating the Current Study

This literature introduction outlines current knowledge of the many factors that impact mothers' labour force and child care strategies. A complex set of influences exists that includes: personal attributes, such as education levels; attitudes, values and orientation to ideologies related to maternal employment; relational context; and social policy context, including institutional child care context. Despite the considerable insights garnered from the studies outlined in this review, more research is required to delineate the ways in which these influences interact over time to shape individual women's work-family integration strategies.

To understand the ways in which these factors shape women's work-family integration strategies, attention must be paid to the individual-level longitudinal processes and trajectories that underlie aggregate-level patterns of work-family integration choices and that result in utilization of different work-family integration strategies by different groups of women (Steiber & Haas, 2012). Longitudinal studies that focus on individual-level processes of strategizing about work-family integration also have the potential to shed light on the complex, recursive,

relationships between ideologies and beliefs and particular work-family integration behaviours. The current study contributes to understanding of the influences of mothers' work-family integration strategies. It utilizes a prospective approach based on selected key principles of IE to delineate the ways in which ideological, relational, and policy context shape women's work-family integration strategizing over time.

The current study is an analysis of two sequential studies that together comprise a longitudinal, prospective study of women's experiences of the transition to parenthood. The Mobilizing Intergenerational Social Support During the Transition to Parenthood (MIS) study (Kushner, Williamson, Stewart, Letourneau, Spitzer, & Rempel, 2006-2010), followed 21 families from the time that they were expecting their first child and until their first child was approximately 18 months old. The study involved in-depth interviews with fathers and mothers about their expectations for and experiences of parenthood and about the impact of gender, social class, culture, ideology, social support, and family policy on their experiences. The follow-up study, the Family Well-being and the Family and Paid Work Interface (WFI) study (Kushner, Pitre, Breitkreuz, Williamson, & Rempel, 2010-2012), involved additional interviews with 17 of the families two years later, and focused on work-family integration decision-making and strategies and the impact on these strategies of gender, social class, and contextual factors such as social ideology and family policy. In addition, the impact of work-family integration decisions on family well-being was explored. This dissertation study utilizes data about mothers' processes of strategizing about paid work and child care. Both mothers' and fathers' accounts of women's processes of strategizing are analyzed to understand women's work-family integration trajectories. Since this study is a longitudinal analysis, only data about the 17 women who participated for the duration of the entire study is included in the study analysis.

Methods

The current study investigated the following research questions: What strategies do mothers use to manage the work-family interface and how are these strategies shaped by ideological, relational, and policy context? What are the trajectories of paid work and family work choices followed by Canadian mothers?

Within these overarching research questions were nested points of curiosity that could best be addressed within a longitudinal study design: What work-family integration arrangements are tried but abandoned? How do contextual influences such as ideology or child care policy influence mothers' strategic trajectories over time?

Mothers and fathers were interviewed at up to four time points: when expecting their first child; four to six months post-partum, 15 to 18 months post-partum; and finally, when their first child was about four-five years old. Data were analyzed using a method that built on key principles of IE and of qualitative longitudinal research (QLR). Women's trajectories of strategizing about work-family integration in their ideological and relational context were delineated.

Sample

The purposive study sample consisted of a socioeconomically and culturally diverse group of first-time expectant mothers. At the time of recruitment all participating expectant mothers resided in the Western Canadian city in which the study took place and either they or their partner (or both partners) were employed. Participants were recruited with the support of community agencies that provided programs and services for families, and through prenatal education classes held at different locations in the Western Canadian city where the study took place.

Seventeen women participated for the entire study duration. At the time of the first interview, women ranged in age from 20 to 37 years and their partners from 25 to 38 years. Fifteen women who were married or in a common-law relationship participated, as did their spouses. One women who was married participated while her spouse did not, and one woman was a lone parent. At the time of the first interview, women's family incomes ranged from <$20,000 to >140,000 and the median income in the study centre was $80,000. Twelve of the participating women were of Euro-Canadian descent, four had immigrated from Mainland China, and one was from the Philippines.

Table 1 describes the educational and occupational breakdown of mothers at the first interview and their employment status between the first and final interview. There was much variation and change in the employment status of mothers. While the majority were employed full-time at Time 1, only three were employed full-time at Time 4. The number of mothers employed part-time increased from five to ten mothers, between Times 1 and 4, while the number of women who were not employed rose from zero to four.

At the time that this study took place, Canada had instituted a maternity leave provision of 15 weeks and a parental leave provision of 35 weeks for a total of 50 weeks of leave (HSRDC, 2005)[6]. The employment insurance program funds the leave provisions, and the wage replacement rate is 55% of previous insurable earnings up to a threshold value. In Alberta, the province where the study takes place, the parental leave provision is a family benefit; that is, it can be shared between the parents of a child as they choose (Moss, 2012). The employment status reported for women at Time 1 reflects their employment situation prior to the beginning of

[6] The Canadian Government Budget, 2017 included a proposed change to parental leave provisions in Canada. The budget includes a proposal that parents have an option to receive benefits for an extended period of time (up to 18 months) at a lower wage replacement rate (up to 33%). (Government of Canada, 2017)

any period of maternity or parental leave. No fathers took an extended or employment-insurance-funded leave after the birth of their first child.

Apart from one father who was unemployed at Time 1 and employed full-time by the final interview, all of the women's partners were employed full-time at both Time 1 and Time 4.

Table 1. Educational Level, Occupation, and Employment Status of Mothers

		Women (n=17)	
Years of Education Completed	High school diploma	2	
	Post-secondary trade/technical	2	
	Undergraduate degree	11	
	Graduate degree	2	
Occupation	Technical	0	
	Paraprofessional	2	
	Business support	5	
	Service	4	
	Management	0	
	Professional	4	
	Graduate student (professional)	2	
Employment Status		Time 1*	Time 2
	Not employed	0	4
	Part-time employed/Casual employed	5	10
	Full-time employed	12	3

*Employment Status prior to leaving employment during pregnancy

Interviews

Interviews occurred at a time and place that was mutually convenient for the interviewer and participant, with most interviews set in the family home. An opportunity to participate in interviews by telephone was provided to facilitate study involvement by participants who moved outside of the urban centre over the course of the study. Interviews were approximately 60-90 minutes in duration, were semi-structured, and were audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim.

Interviews focused on parents' ideologies, expectations, and experiences regarding mothering and fathering and on contextual factors such as social support, and workplace and family policy that shaped their early experiences. At the last three study time points, parents were asked about decisions that mothers had made about paid work and family work and about the couple influences and broader social and policy influences that impacted their decisions. For this study, both mothers and fathers' accounts of mothers' strategizing about paid work and family work were utilized in the analysis.

Interviews were conducted individually at the first three time-points. Individual interviews created conditions of privacy and provided participants with the opportunity to share ideas or feelings that they may have felt the need to censure in a dyadic interview (Morris, 2001; Taylor & DeVocht, 2011). Participants were informed that anything they shared in their individual interviews was confidential and would not be shared with their partner. For the final follow-up interview, participants had the option of being interviewed individually or as a couple. This option provided participants with an opportunity to choose the format with which they felt most comfortable. Couple interviews created the opportunity to observe relationship dynamics associated with mothers' work-family integration decision-making and also to understand

partners' co-construction of the mother's work-family integration choices (Morgan, Ataie, Corder, & Hoffman, 2013; Taylor & DeVocht, 2011).

Analysis

Data analysis consisted of two overarching steps, a recurrent cross-sectional thematic analysis that compared themes at each time point and a trajectory analysis that captured each mother's sequence of work-family integration strategizing over the period of the study. Individual trajectories were then analyzed for common features in order to develop the two summative trajectories. This approach to data analysis was informed by the analytical approaches of qualitative longitudinal researchers including Grossoeheme and Lipstein (2016) and Thomson and Holland (2003) and by analytical approaches in IE (McCoy, 2006; Smith, 1987). Data were managed using the QSI, NVivo software program.

Recurrent cross-sectional analysis. The constant comparison method (Boeije, 2002; Charmaz, 2006) was used for the thematic analysis. Thematic analysis was also guided by foundational principles of analysis in IE. These foundational principles included the expanded concept of work that is a key component of the theoretical perspective of IE and the concept of the coordinating power of dominant ideological discourse (McCoy, 2006; Smith, 1987). I thematically analyzed my data at each time point using these concepts as guiding constructs. These constructs kept me attuned to the entire complement of work processes that individual women were performing related to strategizing about work-family integration. They also kept me focused on the ways in which women's strategizing was influenced by institutional relations and ideological discourse. I compared themes across time points (informed by Grossoeheme and Lipstein, 2016; Saldana, 2003; Thomson and Holland, 2003) in order to determine what remained constant and what changed over time in relation to women's work-family integration

approaches, their processes of strategizing about work-family integration, and the influences on these approaches and processes.

Trajectory analysis. After the cross-sectional analysis was complete, a trajectory analysis was performed in order to capture the evolution of the story of each individual woman's work-family integration approaches. A timeline was prepared for each individual woman that depicted the major themes and categories regarding influences on their work-family integration strategies at each time point and their work-family integration approach at each time point. Description of the reasons for changes in work-family integration approaches between time points was then added to the timeline in order to capture each woman's longitudinal process of work-family integration strategizing. These descriptions were developed utilizing the guiding concepts from IE that informed my analytical approach. In this way, it was ensured that the developing understanding of women's strategic processes regarding work-family integration reflected the coordinating power of institutional discourse. I looked for the "hooks" (Diamond, 2006) to dominant discourse that shaped and defined women's trajectories.

The timelines made it possible to easily view the consistency or inconsistency of themes over time, the way that themes were linked over time, and the holistic way in which they were integrated across individual work-family integration trajectories. In a final analytical step, individual woman's trajectories were compared in order to identify the themes, categories, and processes that defined trajectories. This process resulted in the identification of the two major, summative pathways.

Ethics and Rigour

Ethics approval for the study was obtained from the university ethics review board. Participants provided written consent prior to participating in the first interview and were also

asked at the end of every interview to reaffirm their consent, after knowing what they shared in the interview.

The rigour of the study is demonstrated by the appropriateness of the study methods and the suitability of the data collected to answer the research questions (Bergman & Coxman, 2005; Morse, Barrett, Mayan, Olson, & Spiers, 2002). In addition, rigour and the validity of study findings are demonstrated by the systematic and iterative data analysis procedure utilized, in which categories, codes, and the developing interpretations were continually checked against new data and revised or confirmed. Analysis proceeded until saturation was achieved (Morse, 1995) and until an interpretation was developed that was comprehensive and reflected and described all of the pertinent data (Silverman, 2013). A comprehensive audit trail was created and data interpretations were checked and validated by other researchers who were highly familiar with the data set (Guba, 1981).

Results

The core findings from this study are the two trajectories, *the washing machine pathway*, and the *career maintenance pathway*, that unfold over five years. Because of the essential temporal elements of the trajectories, it is difficult to accurately characterize them by breaking them down into separate components or key themes and to illustrate them with exemplary quotes and small pieces of mothers' stories. To not describe the entire trajectories is to lose the holistic perspective that is critical to characterizing them accurately. Accordingly, after describing a core finding of my study regarding a key difference between the two trajectories, the alternative interpretation of work-family integration challenges, this presentation of results will focus on holistic description of each trajectory. I will begin with a comprehensive description of each trajectory and then illustrate the trajectory through detailed recounting of the trajectories of

women who participated in the study. The stories of five women will be drawn on to illustrate the trajectories. Together these mothers' stories capture the diversity of mothers' experiences related to work-family integration strategizing.

To illustrate the washing machine trajectory, I describe in detail the stories of Laura, Balani, and Hanna. The stories of these three women were chosen to illustrate the trajectory because of the women's diverse orientations to intensive motherhood ideology at the first study time point (Time 1). Their diversity in initial orientation comprehensively captures the ideological perspectives of women in my study sample at Time 1 who followed this trajectory. Their stories also illustrate the homogenizing power of the washing machine pathway. Despite very different initial preferences for work-family integration strategies, the three women have strikingly similar work-family integration arrangements at the final study time point (Time 4).

To illustrate the career maintenance trajectory, I describe the stories of Sarah and Ji, the only two mothers in the study sample to follow this trajectory.

Interpretations of Work-Family Integration Challenges and the Two Trajectories

It was evident that mothers' orientations to intensive motherhood ideology determined the work-family integration strategies they saw as possible and seriously considered enacting during their early transitions to parenthood. Their orientations fell into the categories identified and defined by Hattery (2001): conformist, pragmatist, innovator, and nonconformist. It was these orientations that seemed to determine what paid work and child care options the mothers saw as being good and acceptable options. It followed that these orientations also determined the women's initial strategies for work-family integration.

For all of the women in my study, however, it was not only their orientation to intensive motherhood ideology but their interpretations of their experiential challenges with work-family integration that determined their work-family integration strategies over time. It was inevitable that mothers would experience challenges related to work-family integration and in relation to either their paid work or their child care arrangements over the course of their transition to parenthood.

Alternative interpretations of those challenges were the basis of the two divergent work-family integration trajectories, the washing machine trajectory and the career maintenance trajectory. Women who followed the washing machine pathway interpreted work-family integration challenges as indications that they needed to modify their work-family integration strategy. Women on the career maintenance pathway considered work-family integration challenges a normal and acceptable experience of the transition to parenthood. Consequently, they did not make radical changes to their work-family integration strategies when they experienced struggles and challenges.

The Washing Machine Trajectory

The majority of mothers in my study followed the washing machine trajectory (n=15/17), and all mothers with innovator, pragmatist, and conformist orientations followed this trajectory. Nonetheless, mothers had very different ideologically driven goals and considered very different work-family integration options in their early strategizing about managing the paid work and family interface. Over time, however, these mothers came to utilize strikingly similar work-family integration strategies.

The washing machine pathway was an experience of iterative experimentation. It consisted of a cyclical process that began when mothers enacted their first work-family integration strategy

early in their transition to parenthood. The strategy was implemented and mothers would then ”try it out.” Inevitably, challenges with the strategy occurred, and they triggered an interpretive process of interaction with the key beliefs/implicit behaviours of the washing machine pathway that are illustrated in the inner circles of Figure 1. Through the interpretation of experiences of work-family integration struggles, the factors in the inner circles of the washing machine pathway became “activated.” In response to work-family integration challenges, mothers reflected on the key beliefs/implicit behaviours in order to determine if/what adjustments were necessary in their work-family integration strategies. Mothers would then emerge from the process with a new work-family integration strategy that they would then test again through its implementation. The process was cyclical and iterative, and it resulted in homogenization, that is, in erasure of differences in women’s work-family integration approaches over time.

Two key beliefs and one implicit behaviour shaped the washing machine trajectory. Many of the mothers who followed this pathway, as well as their spouses, shared the two key beliefs. The first belief was that they did not want someone else raising their children, a belief often held in conjunction with a lack of trust in nonparental child care. Some of the mothers on this pathway believed that young children ideally should not spend any time in nonparental care. Others believed that some hours in nonparental care were acceptable but that the number of hours children spend in nonparental care should be severely limited.

The second belief was that the financial cost of nonparental child care was the mothers’ responsibility. In relation to this belief, both mothers and fathers subtracted the cost of the care from mothers’ real or anticipated wages (if they had not returned to paid work or were considering returning to paid work). They did this to determine whether it made financial “sense” for mothers to take the time away from their children to participate in the labour force.

Since nonparental child care can be very expensive in the jurisdiction in which the study took place (some parents described it as equivalent to a second mortgage), men and women often determined that financially it did not make sense for mothers to participate in paid work. The net financial gain resulting from their paid work was minimal.

An additional factor shaping this pathway was a relational experience of mothers in which their spouses facilitated a choice to stay home so they could provide maternal child care but not the option to maintain a time and labour-intensive career. Fathers automatically or implicitly accepted the role of breadwinner and made decisions that ensured that they could meet the financial needs of their families. They did not, however, foreground and prioritize needed changes to their paid work that would enable them to equally share caregiving responsibility with their wives and subsequently enable their wives to maintain their careers. Consequently, women had spousal support for a decision to cut back on or curtail paid work and engage in stay-at-home parent care. They did not have this level of spousal support for their career maintenance and career building.

Possible outcomes of the washing machine process. Two work-family integration options were the outcomes of successive cycles through the washing machine pathway: Mothers who followed this pathway "tried out" either flexible jobs that facilitated caregiving or exit from the labour force. Over time, the cycles of strategizing typically followed a pattern in which women tried out different flexible work options shaped by factors in the washing machine pathway. These options frequently involved decreased number of hours in paid work and reduced psychological commitment to paid work, sometimes followed by exit from the labour force altogether.

A few mothers with innovator or pragmatist orientations, such as Hanna, entered the washing machine pathway with careers. However, this entry point was a one-way street, as these women invariably emerged from the washing machine pathway with a flexible job or curtailed employment. None sustained a career. Over time some women, such as Laura, moved back into the cycle from a position of having left the labour force and subsequently emerged with a strategy for work-family integration that fell into the category of flexible paid work. None of these women re-emerged with a career, however.

Balani's story. Balani was a mother in her early 30's and an innovator. She worked very hard at, and was very intentional about, making decisions that ensured that she was able both to participate in paid work because her family needed her income and to provide parental care for her children. In her first interview, she was on maternity leave and was considering using two different work-family integration strategies after her baby was born. One possible strategy was finding day-time paid employment and having her husband work night shifts so that he, together with her elderly mother who lived with the couple, could provide day-time child care for their infant. Balani also indicated that if she could not find paid work, she would consider going to school and arranging an academic schedule that would require minimal time in classes and away from her baby. Balani's early approach to work-family integration was shared by the other innovaters in my sample (3/17). They only considered paid work options that also allowed them to provide parental care for their children.

About a year after her baby was born, in Balani's second interview, she was preparing to begin a technical training program. She expressed a strong desire to set a good example for her daughter by going to school and having a career. Her husband had adjusted his paid work schedule to night shifts so that he could provide child care during daytime hours while Balani

attended her classes. In a subsequent interview, when the baby was 17 months old, Balani had finished her academic program and was employed part-time, working night shifts. She arrived home from her job just in time for her husband to leave for his paid work during the day. Balani came home from working the night shift, nursed her daughter, and then slept with her for a few hours in the morning. Balani's mother sometimes played with the baby in the morning if Balani needed extra rest. Balani sounded exhausted as a result of managing her paid work and child care responsibilities. She said she sometimes felt like giving up her work-family integration arrangement and quitting her paid work.

In addition to highlighting the influence of belief in parent-only child care, Balani's account of her strategic trajectory highlights the role that her experience of the implicit behaviour, "spousal facilitation of the choice to stay home,", played in her trajectory. Balani remarked that her husband did not want her to work night shifts because he could see that it was extremely tiring for her. She shared with the interviewer that because she persisted in employment despite his wish that she not work, she felt that she was standing alone and that the challenge of maintaining her paid work arrangement was hers to bear alone. It is important to note that Balani felt that her husband made many sacrifices to support her employment such as staying up late to drive her to work and getting up early in the morning to pick her up at the end of her shift. Yet Balani felt very much alone in terms of responsibility for bearing the personal costs such as fatigue and dealing with the other struggles of her employment arrangement. Her husband would have facilitated a choice by Balani to stay home to provide child care with a degree of commitment and tangible facilitative action that did not exist in relation to her choice to continue in paid employment.

In her final interview, Balani was on maternity leave after having her second baby and her first child was five years old. Balani was again preparing to go back to paid work. Again, she planned to work night shifts, alternating paid work schedules with her husband so that their children would not be in nonparental care. When asked why she and not her husband worked night shifts, Balani explained that his job was very difficult and that he became so tired from working night shifts that he could not manage household tasks and child care during the day. She, on the other hand, could handle working nights and still performing child care and household tasks during the day.

The backdrop of intensive motherhood ideology was apparent in Balani's willingness to bear ultimate responsibility for child care. She also made it clear in her final interview that she and her husband did not trust nonparental care. The preference for parental care, combined with intensive motherhood ideology, meant that the only way Balani could participate in paid work was to work the night shift and provide child care during the day. Balani anticipated difficulties with the arrangement and in her final interview told the interviewer that if the arrangement was too tiring and therefore unsustainable, she would decrease her hours in paid employment.

So, although Balani appeared to be extremely committed to paid work at the beginning of her story in her first interview, her beliefs about possible and acceptable work-family integration options had shifted by the time of her last interview. She was now considering an option of ending her paid employment. The curtailing of paid employment to provide full-time stay-at-home parent care had become a "good" work-family integration solution. The homogenizing effect of the washing machine pathway and the creation of a work-family integration solution characterized by more child care and less paid work was apparent.

Hanna's story. Hanna was a professional who was passionate about her paid work and who worked full-time prior to the arrival of her first baby. She, like the majority of women in my study (n=11/17) had a pragmatist orientation. Hattery described the process of decision-making followed by pragmatists as one of "cost-benefit analysis" (p.60). The pragmatists in my study, including Hannah, engaged in cost-benefit analysis related to work-family integration options even prior to the arrival of their first babies.

Hannah pondered intensive motherhood ideology in her strategizing, but also considered and weighted many other factors. Hanna anticipated that her early decisions about paid work and family would evolve in response to contextual factors and experiences early in the transition to parenthood. These would include the adequacy of her husband's salary to support the family after he finished his professional training and found his first professional job and also her experience of providing stay-at-home parent care. She would adjust the length of her parental leave in response to the family's need for her financial contributions and also in response to the level of contentment that she felt being at home full-time providing stay-at-home parent care.

At the time of her second interview, when her baby was about one year old, Hanna was working part-time and the baby attended a day home a few hours in the afternoons on the days that Hanna worked. She and her husband had arranged to work alternating hours in order to minimize the amount of time that the baby was in child care. The majority of the time, their baby was cared for by one of them. Hanna began work in the afternoon and dropped off the baby on her way to her office. The baby was then at the day home for only a few hours before her husband, who began his workday early in the morning and could leave work in the afternoon, picked her up and spent the evening with her. During this second interview, Hanna said that the work-family integration arrangement was a sacrifice because she and Harold were not often able

to spend time together at home, but that it was worth it because, “I’d rather her be parented by one of us.”

Hanna described her choice to reduce her employment to part-time as arising from her initial experiences of considering and searching for child care. Prior to returning to paid work, she began calling day homes and eventually settled on a provider. However, in the period of time leading up to Hanna’s baby attending the day home, Hanna saw indications that the day home operator was, by her estimation, too motivated by financial gain. This led Hanna to reject the day home and to interview a number of other day home providers before she found one that she felt was the right choice. She described her decision-making process about child care and the accompanying implications for her paid work status as follows:

> But I certainly, the more I got looking into daycare - ahh - the less I umm, the more I realized that there wasn’t going to be that sweet grandma that I totally trusted to take care of her. Umm. Umm. Then I was going to go full-time. And then I started interviewing and then I was like yeah, I’m not going to leave her full-time and then I was going to go like four days a week and then every, with every person I met, the days that I worked got reduced. ‘Cause I just wasn’t comfortable with leaving her. So I would certainly work more if I had - well, would I? I don’t know. I was going to say I would certainly work more if I had daycare that I wanted. But no, I think that - I, I just can’t justify having a child and then being absent from her five days a week, eight hours a day, when she’s only up for ten hours a day. {laughs} You know? So umm.

This statement by Hanna clearly illustrates the effects of some of the factors in the washing machine pathway on her paid work choices. Difficulties finding child care that she trusted and a belief that “she didn’t want someone else raising their child” shaped a work-family integration trajectory characterized by a decision to decrease paid work participation to part-time employment. In Hanna’s own words this happened incrementally, slowly, and over time. She realized that she would have to decrease her paid work hours in response to work-family integration challenges, most notably finding a child care provider that she trusted.

In Hanna's final interview, when she had given birth to a second child and was again preparing to return to paid work after maternity leave, there was clear evidence of the combined influence of many factors in the washing machine pathway that created pressure for ongoing decreases in Hanna's paid work hours over time. Hanna planned to reduce her paid work hours again, for the second time in her story, when she returned to work. The influence of her early decision to work part-time in the latter stages of her trajectory was also apparent.

Hanna described a significant, negative change in her experience of and engagement with her paid work after changing from full-time to part-time status. Being a part-time employee had meant that she was not a decision-maker. She had become a "put-in-your-time worker" in contrast to having been a "put-in-your-opinion" worker. Her part-time status also had meant that she was not considered for training opportunities that were of considerable interest to her and that would have supported her engagement with and passion for her paid work. She was very disappointed about missing out on these opportunities and was considering making life decisions that would necessitate quitting her job, such as leaving the city that the couple currently resided in to move closer to extended family. Prior to the changes in her career satisfaction that had resulted from her change to part-time status, she and Harold had both made major life decisions with the understanding that Hanna's commitment to both her career and her current employer were a "given" and that their work-family integration decisions should be made around the requirements of Hanna's employment.

In her final interview, Hanna commented that she had considered increasing her hours at work so that the training opportunities that she desired would be available to her but she had not felt comfortable with the consequent changes to her child care arrangements that would be required to support increases in her paid work hours. Hanna was heavily invested in her child

care choice, which she had put considerable effort into establishing; its part-time nature and inflexibility meant that it would not support her greater involvement in the work force, however.

The fastidiousness with which Hanna approached her child care selection was evident from her description of the many factors that she considered when making her choice. Hanna explained that the moment she was healed from giving birth to her second child she started to look for a day home that she was comfortable with and it had taken her the entire year of maternity leave to find one. She explained that she looked for a day home, for example, that was high quality and that was not too far from her residence, so that her children would not be spending long time periods in a vehicle travelling to and from care.

Hanna felt it was necessary to stop using the day home that her oldest daughter had attended before Hanna's second maternity leave because her daughter seemed unhappy and cried inconsolably when dropped off there. Hanna ultimately chose a different day home because she felt trust in the operator, but the spot was less than optimal. It did not completely cover her monthly care needs; there were a number of days each month when she did not have child care.

In her final interview, Hanna shared that both her current child care arrangement and her paid work arrangement were tentative and could change at any time. She was surprised by this reality and reflected in her final interview on how her paid work had defined her for a very long time and that now, "I'm quite excited about going back to work, but as an employee I kind of feel like I'll still be a mother first. Yeah, which I never thought I'd be that way, yeah, so."

Hanna's story, like Balani's, demonstrates the power of the factors of the washing machine trajectory to shape a work-family integration pathway that results in the prioritizing of child care over paid work and that creates a need to decrease paid work hours and increase time spent in child care. Hanna's story also illustrates the unanticipated consequence of decreasing

paid work commitment from full-time to part-time status. The accompanying decrease in paid work engagement and satisfaction decreased Hanna's paid work commitment and increased her openness over time to work-family integration strategies that involved more time spent in child care and less time in paid work.

Marie's story. Marie was the only conformist in my study sample (n=1/17). She was in her early 20's and a child care worker at the time of her first interview. In that interview, she described choosing her paid work position because, after the arrival of her infant, she would be able to take her baby to work with her. She also commented that she would not have to return to work if she did not want to because her partner was in support of a decision for her to stay home to care for their child. In her second interview, when her infant was approximately one year old, Marie was home full-time with the baby. She expressed a solid belief that it was very important for children to be home with a parent for the first few years of their lives. Commenting on the superiority of stay-at-home parent care, she shared the following observations that she made during her years employed as a child care provider:

> …seeing so many parents that make tons and tons of money and only one of them would need to work, you know, and uh, they just go to work and they don't really spend their time with their kids and the kids lose out big time. And get sent to daycares or wherever and uh- it's really sad that the parents care more about their own money and spending time on themselves and stuff like that, you know, I mean, they're, the kids didn't ask to be born. You know. If you wanted a kid, you should spend time with your kid and raise your child. If you wanted a child, that's what you should do.

Marie clearly identified with intensive motherhood ideology and the ideal of stay-at-home parent care. Reflected in the quote above and explicit across Marie's interviews over time was a belief that she did not want someone else to raise her children, or in other words, her rejection of nonparental child care. Throughout her interviews, Marie spoke often of the financial sacrifice that she and her husband had made to make it possible for her to stay home. They used public

transportation rather than owning a car and they lived in rental housing rather than purchasing a house. These were cost-saving decisions made by the couple so that Marie did not need to be employed.

A notable development in Marie's trajectory was that at the time of the final interview, she was participating in very flexible paid employment and coordinating an informal program that arranged social events for families. The coordination of the group took a considerable amount of time and Marie was proud of how much time and effort she was able to devote to the group and also of the success of the group. An interesting aspect of Marie's story is that, despite the considerable amount of time and energy she was investing in her casual employment, she still classified herself as not working and as a stay-at-home mother.

Ideologically, Marie was a conformist but she settled into a work-family integration pattern over time that was very similar to that of the other mothers on the washing machine pathway. This consisted of a primary focus on child care with flexible employment that accommodated primary child care responsibility. In her strategizing, Marie was heavily influenced by the ideal of intensive mothering and the care ideal of stay-at-home parent care. She made a very clear choice to provide full-time, stay-at-home parent care and described herself as not working. The result of her process of decision-making, however, was a work-family integration strategy that looked very much like that of the "final strategies" of many mothers who described themselves as being committed to combining participation in both paid work and child care and who strategized over time to intentionally achieve a lifestyle that made space for both flexible employment and intensive child care. This is illustrated by the convergence of Marie's pattern of participation in paid work and child care with those of Balani and Hanna.

The Career Maintenance Trajectory

Two mothers in my study followed a different trajectory, called the career maintenance trajectory. These mothers were both nonconformists in their orientation to motherhood ideology. They viewed returning to paid work and career, and the complementary use of nonparental child care, as their desired work-family integration strategy. For women on the washing machine pathway, a combination of their orientation to motherhood ideology and their child care-related beliefs and experiences were the key defining features of this pathway. For those on the career maintenance trajectory, the focus was on finding and utilizing child care that the mothers were ideologically comfortable with and that proved to be trustworthy and of high quality over time. A second key feature of the career maintenance trajectory, which distinguished it from the washing machine trajectory, was interpreting work-family integration challenges as normal and expected experiences during the transition to parenthood. When these mothers experienced difficulties with their work-family integration challenges, they weathered them. This included demonstrating a quality that I have called "child care grit," that is, a commitment to maintaining nonparental child care arrangements despite challenges.

Two mothers in the study maintained their career status and hours/weeks of employment throughout the study with the exception of periods of time when they were on maternity leave. Although these mothers, Jun and Sarah, utilized very different types of nonparental child care, both had high levels of trust in their child care arrangements. The arrangements aligned with their care ideals. Their comfort with their nonparental child care arrangements, both ideologically and from a trust perspective, seemed to be the key to their continuation on the career maintenance trajectory.

Jun's story. Jun was a Chinese immigrant who worked full-time prior to the arrival of her baby and returned to her full-time position six months after the birth. Jun also finished a graduate degree between her first interview, when she was expecting her first baby, and her third interview, when her first baby was 17 months old. Jun held a professional position at a local public institution and changed positions during the year after her baby was born. She explained that the new position provided more job stability than her previous one. Her husband had some employment uncertainty, so she felt it was important for her to have stable employment.

Apart from her maternity leave, Jun worked full-time throughout the study. When her baby was a few months old and Jun was still on maternity leave, she remarked that she was happily surprised that she could still maintain parts of her life and activities that had been important to her before the baby was born. Thinking about her future work-family integration arrangements, she said, "I hope that my baby's arrival will not change, for example, the relationship I have with my husband and with my career." In subsequent interviews, it did in fact seem that Jun's relationship to her career did not change. It seemed as well that this outcome was enabled by her child care arrangement, with which she was ideologically comfortable and which she felt was trustworthy.

Jun's child care arrangement, which was full-time, live-in grandparent care, was common among the Chinese immigrant parents in my study. Jun's parents and her husband's parents alternated visits from China, so that one set of grandparents was always with Jun and her husband during the first few years of their infant's life. Having her husband's parents provide child care created some difficulties and was one of reasons that Jun cited for going back to paid work before her parental leave period had expired. (She and her husband both felt that she might experience conflict with his parents if she was home.)

Nonetheless, Jun felt a high degree of comfort with her child care arrangement. Jun spoke of how it was very easy to ask family for support because they were family. It "came naturally" that they help her and her husband. She also seemed relatively at ease with her care and paid work arrangements and with the balance of activities in her life. The ease and comfort that seemed to characterize Jun's life and its rhythms, and the constancy of her paid work and child care arrangements over time, was rare among study participants. The primary reason for this outcome seemed to be having child care that Jun trusted highly and that enabled her to, without worry, participate in her career.

This did not mean that there were no difficulties with Jun's child care arrangement. Rather, she managed them. She demonstrated *child care grit* and did not consider them to be indications that she should look for another child care arrangement or reduce her engagement in full-time paid work. For example, Jun spoke about some minor conflict that she had experienced with her in-laws when they were caring for her baby. They had acted in direct opposition to her wishes. She caught them in the act of interacting with the baby in a way that she had explicitly asked them to avoid. She responded by taking the infant from them and modeling an interaction style that she preferred. In her interview, she remarked lightheartedly, however, that she knew that when she was not home her husband's parents probably often cared for the baby in ways that differed from her caregiving preferences. She accepted this reality. She said:

> I, I don't worry because they are the grand uh parents and they, they love my daughter and uh I don't think they will hurt her. It's alright - even if they do things differently, like it's okay, it, it won't hurt her…

Sarah's story. Sarah was a Canadian-born mother who had two children by the end of the study period. Apart from her maternity leaves, she worked full-time at the same paid position

throughout the length of the study. She expressed great satisfaction in and enjoyment of her paid work.

She found a temporary, part-time position during her first maternity leave, after the birth of her first baby, because, she said, though she very much enjoyed the "time off" to spend with her young son, she had been a worker most of her life and then, "It was just gone." It was meaningful and rewarding for her to do some paid work a couple of times a month during her maternity leave and "to feel needed somewhere else" other than at home.

In her second interview, not long after she had returned to full-time employment and her son had started to attend a local day home, Sarah spoke about her process of strategizing about paid work and child care. Before returning to work, she had slowly transitioned her son into his day home by gradually increasing the number of hours he spent there. During that transition period, when sometimes he would cry, she had questioned her decision to return to work. She felt guilty, she said, leaving him with someone else for care, but her family needed her income to maintain their standard of living and she did not feel that she had a choice but to return to work. She reflected that, if it were not for her financial constraints, she might have chosen to work part-time for a while, which she suggested would be an ideal balance of time spent in child care and paid work. However, she demonstrated child care grit and stuck with her original child care choice, working through the initial challenges experienced with it.

In her final interview, Sarah's older child was four years old and her younger child was approximately one year of age. Both children attended the same day home that the older child had begun to attend as an infant. Sarah and her husband both clearly felt strong trust in the day home provider and described having a "personal connection" with her. Sarah's husband

commented that, after seeing how well their son was developing due to attending the day home and having opportunities to interact with the other children there, they stopped feeling guilty about having him be with someone other than them during the day. And since their younger child, their daughter, had started attending the day home, they also felt the comfort of knowing that the siblings were spending time together during the day and had the comfort of being together.

In her final interview, Sarah shared the following as she reflected on her experiences and decisions related to work-family integration and on the temporary challenges that her family had experienced when she had returned to work after her first maternity leave:

> So I, we always knew that, and financially too, you know, that I was gonna go back to work, you know, because I just don't, I mean we could make changes to make it work but we didn't wanna make those changes. [Chuckles]. You know, so we de, decided right away that we would both work full-time, you know, and the kids would just have to adapt to that.

Sarah's attitudes and preferences seem to have adjusted over time. Even in her retrospective account, she described having always had a preference for full-time paid work. Congruity among her actual paid work, child care arrangements and her attitudes had developed. The development of trust in her child care arrangement was the key factor that enabled this convergence of attitudes and behaviours. It was clear from her reflections about her experiences that trust had developed, in part, because she and her husband had normalized the difficulties associated with their children's transitions into nonparental child care. They had not responded to those difficulties as a signal that they should change their child care arrangements and their work-family integration strategies. Sarah's comfort with nonparental child care, which had resulted from her lived experience of her work-family integration strategies, was rare among the

mothers in my study, most of whom seemed unable to find a combination of paid work and child care that was stable and that they felt comfort and ease with.

Jun's and Sarah's stories were both characterized by this stability and comfort related to work-family integration. It seemed that this outcome was reached through a strategy characterized by three factors: a strong nonconformist or work orientation; an attitude accepting of work-family integration challenges, including challenges with child care; and a high degree of trust in their chosen nonparental child care arrangement.

Discussion

Different Orientations to Ideologies, Same Outcomes

A striking finding of this study was that for the majority of mothers there was little alignment over time between mothers' early preferences regarding work-family integration arrangements and their actual arrangements. Women with innovator orientations, such as Balani, were determined to combine both stay-at-home parent care and paid work. They exhibited great sacrifice and effort to develop schedules and arrangements that allowed participation in both. Women with pragmatist orientations, such as Hanna, were committed to both paid work and fulfilment of an intensive motherhood ideology, and they enacted their ideological orientation by establishing a cost-benefit type of approach to decision-making even prior to the arrival of their first baby. They were committed to finding the best possible work-family integration approach that would maximize benefits and decrease costs associated with a number of factors such as child care options and child care costs. The one mother with a conformist orientation, Marie, was committed to providing full-time stay-at-home parent care and was ideologically opposed to the use of nonparental care. Although the three groups of women started out with very different values and preferences related to work-family integration, by the end of the study they had

chosen strikingly similar patterns of paid work and child care arrangements: combining part-time paid work with stay-at-home mother care. The factors in the washing machine pathway, "washed out" early differences in work-family integration approaches that reflected the preferences of women early in their transition to parenthood. Overwhelmingly, the most common family-level work-family integration model that developed was a one-and-a-half earner model, a model that has been described as the new "modernized version" (p.87) of the male breadwinner model (Broomhill & Sharp, 2007).

These findings contradict the position of Hakim (2000), who contends that women's paid work and child care choices, particularly in liberal welfare states, are clear reflections of their personal preferences. In my study, many women's decisions to decrease paid work involvement and increase time spent in child care did not seem to be rooted in their early preferences regarding work-family integration but were, instead, adaptations in response to a gendered relational environment. These findings support the contentions of some critics of Hakim (2000) who assert that work-family integration options are not solely derived from women's preferences rooted in their dispositions but are instead, a response to the moral and structural constraints of their sociopolitical context (Leahy & Doughney, 2006).

These findings also demonstrate a possible mechanism underlying the recursive relationship between work-family integration attitudes and behaviors observed by other researchers (Himmelweit & Sigala, 2004; Johnston & Swanson, 2006; Pungello & Kurtz-Costes, 2000). My study suggests that it is through mothers' interpretation of work-family integration challenges that adaptations occur to work-family integration preferences and to beliefs about the "best" work-family integration options. If work-family integration challenges are interpreted through the lens of intensive motherhood ideology, the challenges are themselves considered

evidence of the correctness of intensive motherhood ideology and support a shift in individual belief systems and behaviors related to work-family integration so that they align more closely with intensive motherhood ideology. In other words, if women believe in intensive motherhood ideology, that belief may often override their early work-family integration preferences so that over time both their beliefs about and strategies for work-family integration align more closely with intensive motherhood ideology.

The Power of Early Decisions to Shape and Constrain Later Decisions

The majority of the women in my study (all of the conformists, pragmatists, and innovators) made early changes to their paid work, such as reducing paid work hours, or finding flexible, casual and/or part-time paid work in order to accommodate gendered responsibility for child care. Mothers did not appear to anticipate or consider the ramifications of their paid work strategies enacted early in their transitions to parenthood, on their personal job satisfaction and future work-family integration decisions. Some strategies, particularly those that may modify or eliminate mothers' paid work satisfaction and engagement, may, however, set mothers on a course that involves decreased reasons to maintain paid work involvement over time. This may add force to the strong pressures emanating from the factors in the washing machine pathway to adopt traditionally gendered work-family roles and arrangements.

Hannah's story exemplifies this. Hannah's decision to reduce her paid work hours after the arrival of her baby, left her feeling marginalized and underutilized in her paid work. Dissatisfaction with part-time work led Hannah and other mothers in the study, to adapt their attitudes and beliefs about their continued paid work involvement. In short, with decreasing job satisfaction associated with the experience of part-time work, the reasons to stay employed disappeared or became less salient in relation to the reasons to increase time in child care.

Some researchers have described part-time work as an empowering solution for individuals who wish to build an approach to work-life integration that includes both paid work involvement and also adequate time and energy for other activities, such as child care (Meiksins & Whalley, 2002). From this perspective, part-time work is seen to be an option by which individuals maximize their personal agency to find a work-life option that most closely aligns with their preferences for a balanced lifestyle and that defies normative pressures of the workplace that include an expectation of long work hours.

Other researchers have portrayed the experience of part-time work differently. For example, Gregory and Connolly (2008), demonstrated that in Britain, women are often employed part-time in positions for which they are overqualified. A shift to part-time employment is often accompanied by a downgrading of women's occupational status and their segregation in marginal employment.

In my sample, possible mechanisms underlying this "hidden brain drain" (Gregory & Connolly, 2008) were evident. In a cultural environment in which masculinity is associated with breadwinning and femininity with caregiving, women segregated into occupations and positions that they saw as being compatible with caregiving. This segregation was the result of women's interpretation of anticipated work-family integration challenges in their sociocultural environment. In addition, snowball effects could occur in which early decisions to work part-time led to job dissatisfaction and less engagement over time with paid work. This led to further decreases in paid work involvement. These two scenarios often led to women choosing "new" paid work for which they were overqualified. The experience of downgrading occupational status did not seem to be an empowering activation of individual preferences for a balanced lifestyle, but instead, a necessary adaptation to a gendered relational environment.

Child Care Grit and the Career Maintenance Pathway: Early Challenges Do Not Have to Shape the Outcomes of Child Care Choices

The career maintenance pathway began with a nonconformist orientation and a strong work commitment. However, over time it was not only characterized by a strong work commitment but by that commitment in conjunction with steadfastness in relation to the original child care choice. Different interpretations of child care challenges seemed to be key factors that differentiated the career maintenance and washing machine trajectories. Women on the career maintenance trajectory demonstrated "child care grit." When they experienced child care challenges, they managed them, adjusted to them, or normalized them and did not view them as a reason to modify their work-family integration arrangements. Women on the washing machine trajectory, in contrast, viewed child care challenges as a trigger for making adjustments to their paid work or child care arrangements.

Hattery (2001) viewed ideological orientation as the defining construct that explained the relationship between mother's attitudes and work-family integration behaviours. The findings of my study add additional layers of explanation of this relationship. It is women's commitment to paid work in conjunction with factors such as their child care grit that defines a pathway characterized by consistent involvement in paid work and use of nonparental child care over time. For the women in my study, child care grit seemed to be a function of two things: 1. having nonparental child care that the mother trusted; and 2. not interpreting and responding to child care challenges as breaches of trust and reasons to change child care arrangements and work family integration approaches.

According to Kremer (2007) women will only change their moral interpretation of nonparental child care options if states promote "a new, robust, ideal of care" (p.226) that

replaces the ideal of stay-at-home parent care. In liberal welfare states, where child care is considered a private responsibility, a moral and practical void has been left for women who wish to engage in paid work after having children (Kremer, 2007). The state has not promoted an alternative care ideal through development of a universal child care system, for example, as exists in the northern European states and that is based on an ideal of professional child care.

My study suggests that in the absence of a new ideal of care, most women interpret work-family integration challenges according to the ideal of stay-at-home parent care and its corollary, involved motherhood ideology. This act of interpretation hooks them into the traditional gender order and shapes work-family integration strategies that over time consist of more time spent in stay-at-home parent care and less time in paid work. According to Kremer (2007), "people simply cannot change behavior radically without some change of ideal. Thus, without a moral and practical solution for how children are cared for, mothers will hesitate to enter the labour market" (p.227).

In my study, for women on the career maintenance pathway, trust in nonparental child care and interpretation of child care challenges as normative, were key experiences that supported mothers' career maintenance. This indicates the impact that alternative care ideals can have on mothers' labour force attachment and provides support for the supposition that a new, state-supported ideal of care would influence mothers' work-family integration choices over time. A new, state-supported care ideal would provide both an alternative related to available child care options but would also provide a more readily available, alternative moral understanding through which to evaluate child care challenges during the transition to parenthood.

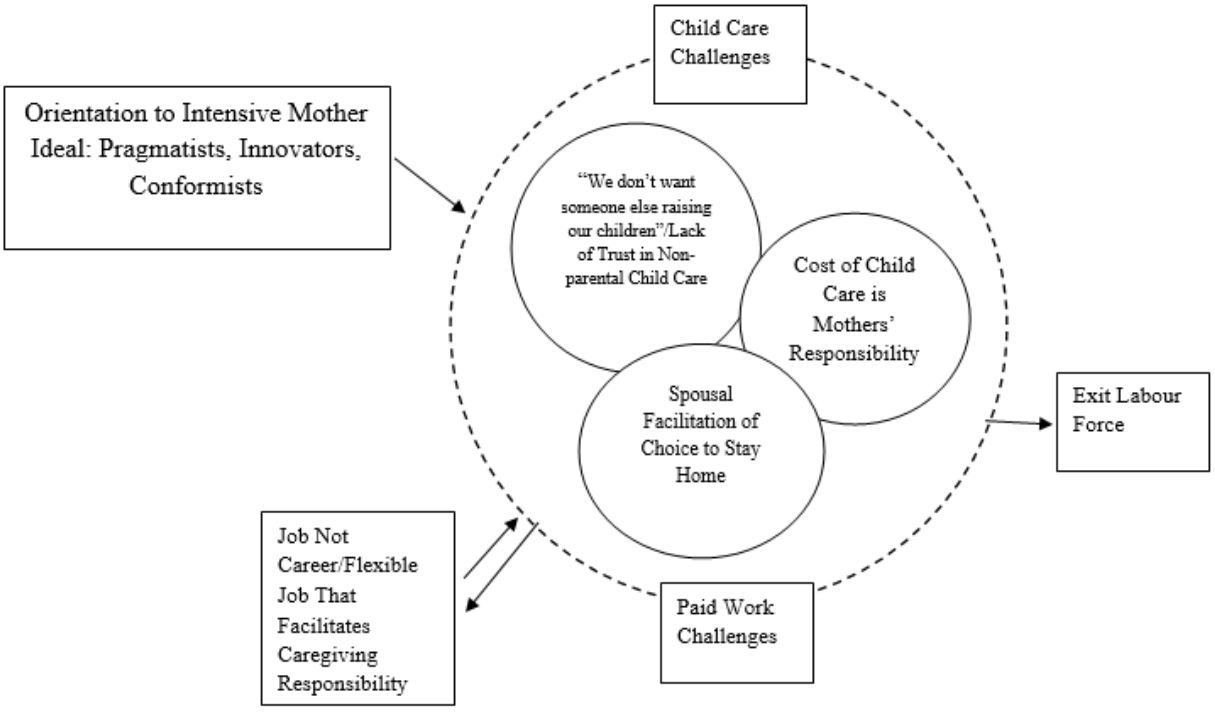
Limitations and Considerations for Future Research

Generalizability of the findings from this study are limited because the study sample did not represent the socioeconomic and cultural diversity of the population of Alberta and the diversity that characterizes family types in the province. In addition, the small number of women that followed the career maintenance pathway, limits inferences that can be drawn about factors that support labour force attachment by Canadian mothers. A final limitation of this study is that it was a secondary analysis of data. I did not have an opportunity to ask participants additional questions about my developing interpretations during analysis.

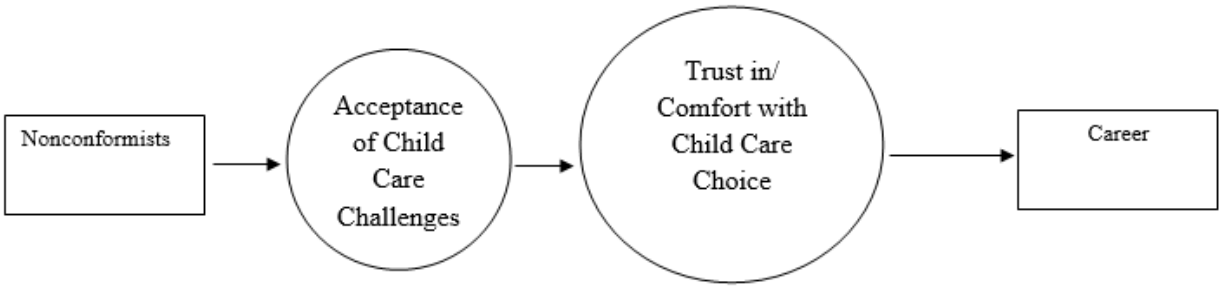
Further research could focus on investigation of processes of work-family integration strategizes in women living in diverse family types, including single parent families. Future research could also focus specifically on the experiences of diverse mothers who maintain career involvement after parenthood. These studies could further illuminate those factors that support mothers' labour force attachment.

Finally, future studies could investigate the long-term implications of these two pathways for mothers' labour force participation. The observed decrease in most mothers' paid work participation levels may be temporary and reversible as children get older. Their preferences may again align more closely to their behaviours.

This study contributes to understanding of the individual-level processes by which women strategize about work-family integration in their ideological, relational, and policy contexts. The study adds to current knowledge of the mechanisms by which traditional divisions of labour in families develop. In addition, this investigation adds to current understanding of the mechanisms by which the recursive relationship between women's preferences for work-family integration and their work-family integration strategies operates.



Model Depicting the Washing Machine Trajectory



Model Depicting the Career Maintenance Trajectory

Figure 1: Models Depicting the Two Trajectories of Mothers' Strategizing about Work-Family Integration

References

Algan, Y., & Cahuc, P. (2004). *Job protection: The macho hypothesis. (*Institute for the Study of Labor Discussion Paper No.1192). IZA: Bonn, Germany. Retrieved from https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=564570

Attanasio, O., Low, H., & Sanchez-Marcos, V. (2008). Explaining changes in female labor supply in life-cycle model. *American Economic Review, 98,* 1517-1552.

Baker, M., Gruber, J., & Milligan, K. (2008). Universal child care, maternal labor supply, and family well-being. *Journal of Political Economy, 116,* 709-745.

Becker, G. (2008). The concise encyclopedia of economics: Human capital. Retrieved from http://www.econlib.org/library/Enc/HumanCapital.html

Becker, P., & Moen, P. (1999). Scaling back: Dual earner couples' work-family strategies. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 61,* 995-1007.

Bergman, M., & Coxon, A. (2005). The quality in qualitative methods. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research, 6, Art.34.* Retrieved from: http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/457/974

Berke, D. (2003). Coming home again: The challenges and rewards of home-based self-employment, *Journal of Family Issues, 24,* 513-546.

Bianchi, S., & Milkie, M. (2010). Work and family research in the first decade of the 21st century. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 72,* 705-725.

Boeijie, H. (2002). A purposeful approach to the constant comparative method in the analysis of qualitative interviews. *Quality & Quantity, 36,* 391-409.

Broomhill, R., & Sharp, R. (2007). The problem of social reproduction under neoliberalism: reconfiguring the male-breadwinner model in Australia. In M. Griffin Cohen & J. Brodie (Eds.), *Remapping gender in the new global order* (85-108). New York, NY: Routledge.

Charmaz, K. (2006). *Constructing grounded theory: A practical guide through qualitative analysis.* London: Sage Publications, Ltd.

De Henau, J., Meulders, D., & O'Dorchai, S. (2006). *The comparative effectiveness of public policies to fight motherhood-induced employment penalties and decreasing fertility in the former EU-15*. (Brussels Economic Review Working Paper. No. 06-02.RS). Brussels, Belgium: DULBEA, University of Brussels.

Del Boca, D., Pasqua, S. & Pronzato, C. (2009). Motherhood and market work decisions in institutional context: A European perspective. *Oxford Economic Papers, i*147-171.

Diamond, T. (2006). "Where did you get the fur coat, Fern?" Participant observation in institutional ethnography. In D.E. Smith (Ed.) *Institutional ethnography as practice* (pp.45-63). Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Duncan, S., & Irwin, S. (2004). The social patterning of values and rationalities: Mothers' choices in combining caring and employment. *Social Policy & Society, 3,* 391-399.

Elvin-Nowak, Y., & Thomsson, H. (2001). Motherhood as idea and practice: A discursive

understanding of employed mothers in Sweden. *Gender and Society, 15,* 407-428.

Esping-Andersen, G. (1990). *The three worlds of welfare capitalism*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Fortin, N. (2005). Gender role attitudes and the labour-market outcomes of women across OECD countries. *Oxford Review of Economic Policy, 21,* 416-438.

Friendly, M., & Prentice, S. (2009). *About Canada: Childcare.* Black Point, NS: Fernwood Publishing.

Gornick, J., & Meyers, M. (2003). *Families that work: Policies for reconciling parenthood and employment.* New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.

Gornick, J., Meyers, M., & Ross, E. (1998). Public policies and the employment of mothers: A cross-national study. *Social Science Quarterly, 79,* 35-54.

Government of Canada (2017). *Budget 2017: Building a strong middle class.* Retrieved from Government of Canada website: http://www.budget.gc.ca/2017/docs/plan/chap-01-en.html#Toc477707320

Gregory, M. & Connolly, S. (2008). Feature: The price of reconciliation: Part-time work, families and women's satisfaction. *The Economic Journal, 118,* F1-F7.

Grossoehme, D. & Lipstein, E. (2016). Analyzing longitudinal qualitative data: the application of trajectory and recurrent cross-sectional approaches. BMC Research Notes 9, 136. DOI 10.1186/s13104-016-1954-1

Guba, E. (1981). Criteria for assessing the trustworthiness of naturalistic inquiries. *ERIC/ECTJ Annual Review Paper, 29*, 75-91.

Hakim, C. (2000). *Work-lifestyle choices in the 21st century: Preference theory.* New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Hattery, A. (2001). *Women, work, and family: Balancing and weaving.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Havnes, T. & Mogstad, M. (2009). *No child left behind: Universal child care and children's long-run outcomes. (*Discussion Papers*,* No. 582). Kongsvinger: Statistics Norway.

Hays, S. (1996). *The cultural contradictions of motherhood.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Himmelweit, S., & Sigala, M. (2004). Choice and the relationship between identities and behaviour for mothers with pre-school children: Some implications for policy from a UK study. *Journal of Social Policy, 33,* 455-478.

Hofferth, S., & Collins, N. (2000). Child care and employment turnover. *Population Research & Policy Review, 19,* 357-395.

Homer-Dixon, T., Leader Maynard, J., Mildenberger, M., Milkoreit, M., Mock, S., Quilley, S., Schroder, T., & Thagard, P. (2013). A complex systems approach to the study of ideology: Cognitive-affective structures and the dynamics of belief systems. *Journal of Social and Political Psychology, 1,* 337-363. Retrieved from http://jspp.psychopen.eu/article/view/36/pdf

HRSDC (2005). *Summative evaluation of EI parental benefits.* (Statistics Canada Catalogue No. HS28-25/2005E.) Retrieved from: http://publications.gc.ca/collections/collection_2008/hrsdc-rhdsc/HS28-25-2005E.pdf

Johnston, D. & Swanson, D. (2006). Constructing the "good mother": The experience of mothering ideologies by work status. *Sex Roles, 54:* 509-519.

Kensinger Rose, K. & Elicker, J. (2008). Parental decision making about child care. *Journal of Family Issues, 29,* 1161-1184.

Kim, J., Fram, M. (2009). Profiles of choice: Parents' patterns of priority in child care decision-making. Early Childhood Research Quarterly, 24, 77-91.

Kraus, W. (2000). Making identity talk: On qualitative methods in a longitudinal study. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research, 1, Art.35,* Retrieved from: http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/1084/2367

Kremer, M. (2007). *How welfare states care: Culture, gender and parenting in Europe.* Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Leahy, M. & Doughney, J. (2006). Women, work and preference formation: A critique of Catherin Hakim's preference theory. *Journal of Businsess Systems, Governance and Ethics, 1,* 37-48. Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/228460420_Women_Work_and_Preference_Formation_A_Critique_of_Catherine_Hakim's_Preference_Theory

Lefebvre, P., & Merrigan, P. (2008). Child-care policy and the labor supply of mothers with young children: A natural experiment. *Journal of Labor Economics, 26,* 519-548.

Leslie, L., Ettenson, R., & Cumsille, P. (2000). Selecting a child care center: What really matters to parents? *Child & Youth Care Forum, 29(5),* 299-322.

Matysiak, A.& Steinmetz, S. (2008). Finding their way? Female employment patterns in West Germany, East Germany, and Poland. *European Sociological Review, 24,* 331-345.

McCoy, L. (2006). Keeping the institution in view. Working with interview accounts of everyday experience. In D.E. Smith (Ed.), *Institutional ethnography as practice* (pp. 109-125). Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

McGinnity, F. (2002). The labour-force participation of the wives of unemployed men: Comparing Britain and West Germany using longitudinal data. *European Sociological Review, 18,* 473-488.

Meiksins, P., & Whalley, P. (2002). *Putting work in its place: A quiet revolution.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Morgan, D. L., Ataie, J., Carder, P., & Hoffman, K. (2013). Introducing dyadic interviews as a method for collecting qualitative data. *Qualitative Health Research*, 23(9), 1276-1284.

Morris, S. (2001). Joint and individual interviewing in the context of cancer. *Qualitative Health Research, 11,* 553-567.

Morse, J. M. (1995). The significance of saturation. *Qualitative Health Research*, *5*(2), 147-149.

Morse, J., Barrett, M., Mayan, M., Olson, K., & Spiers, M. (2002). Verification strategies for establishing reliability and validity in qualitative research. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods, 1,* 13-22.

Moss, P. (2012). (Ed.) International review of leave policies and related research 2012. *International Network on Leave Policies and Research.* London: Institute of Education, University of London.

Moyser, M. (2017). *Women in Canada: A gender-based statistical report* (No. 89-503-X). Retrieved from Statistics Canada website: http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/89-503-x/2015001/article/14694-eng.htm

Pungello, E.P., & Kurtz-Costes, B. (2000). Working women's selection of care for their infants: A prospective study. *Family Relations, 49,* 245-255.

Powell, L. (1997). The impact of child care costs on the labour supply of married mothers: Evidence from Canada. *Canadian Journal of Economics, 30,* 577-594.

Presser, H. (1988). Shift work and child care among dual-earner American parents. *Journal of Marriage & Family, 50,* 133-148.

Ravanera, Z., Beaujot, R., & Liu, J. (2009). Models of earning and caring: Determinants of the division of work. *Canadian Sociological Association, 46,* 319-337.

Roderic, B., Liu, J., & Ravanera, Z. (2015). The converging gender trends in earning and caring in Canada. *Population change and lifecourse strategic knowledge cluster discussion paper series.* 3 (3), Article 2. Retrieved from http://ir.lib.uwo.ca/pclc/vol3/iss3/2/

Saldana, J. (2003). *Qualitative longitudinal research: Analyzing change through time.* (Kobo Version). Retrieved from https://www.kobo.com/

Silverman, D. (2013). *Doing qualitative research: A practical handbook.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Smith, D.E. (1987). *The everyday world a problematic: A feminist Sociology.* Boston: Northeaster University Press.

Steiber, N., & Haas, B. (2012). Advances in explaining women's employment patterns. *Socio-Economic Review, 10,* 343-367.

Taylor, B., & de Vocht, H. (2011). Interviewing separately or as couples? Considerations of authenticity of method. *Qualitative Health Research, 21 (11),* 1576-1587.

Thomson, R., & Holland, J. (2003). Hindsight, foresight and insight: The challenges of longitudinal qualitative research. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology, 6,* 233-244.

Uunk, W., Kalmijn, M. & Muffels, R. (2005). The impact of young children on women's labor supply: A reassessment of institutional effect in Europe. *Acta Sociologica, 48,* 41-62.

Volling, B., & Belsky, J. (1993). Parent, infant, and contextual characteristics related to maternal employment decisions in the first year of infancy. *Family Relations, 42,* 4-12.

PAPER TWO: THE PATHWAY TO THE PRACTICE OF CONTEMPORARY FATHERING AND THE SLOWLY EVOLVING GENDER ORDER

Over the last few decades, work-family researchers have described and demonstrated a stalled gender revolution that has strained and stressed families. The essence of the standstill is two-sided. Women have entered the workforce in great numbers and stretched gender boundaries so that they are essential economic contributors to their families. Yet men have not made an equivalent shift and have not equally stepped up their contributions to unpaid household work, including caring for children (Bianchi, Robinson, & Milkie, 2006; Goldschedier, Bernhardt, & Lappegard, 2015; Hochschild, 1984; Williams, 2000). Women are increasingly involved in work in the private sphere without an equal shifting of men's behaviors to increase their contributions in the home. The result is a critical gap in family labour and an accompanying burden on families and women (Goldscheider, Bernhardt, & Lappegard, 2015; Hochschild, 1989; Jacobs & Gerson, 2004).

Alongside evidence of the stalled gender revolution there is a growing body of information indicating that a second stage of the gender revolution, an increase in involvement of men in the work of the home, is at least to some degree underway (Goldscheider, Bernhardt, & Lappegard, 2014). The second half of the gender revolution is equal in significance to the first half, that saw the large-scale movement of women into the public sphere. This second half represents a change in societal organization that has the potential to strengthen families by easing the burden on women and families that accompanied the first stage (Goldscheider et al., 2014).

Family research aimed at understanding the second half of the gender revolution has been characterized in part by an increasing interest in fatherhood (Goldberg, Tan, & Thorsen, 2009).

Many researchers have focused on understanding the evolving roles of fathers within families and on characterizing the antecedents and influences of their involvement (Dermott, 2008; Freeman, 2002; Pleck & Pleck, 1997). Changing fatherhood ideologies have been identified and the emergence of involved father/co-parent ideology as the new societal ideal for fathers has been documented (Freeman, 2002; Miller, 2011; Pleck & Pleck, 1997). According to Pleck and Pleck (1997), "…in our times, the 'new father' who changes diapers, schedules medical appointments, and knows the name of his child's teacher is the ideal" (p. 34). An expectation exists that fathers equally share both the responsibility for and actual care of children with mothers. This ideological construct seems to indicate a break from the past and to reflect a belief that men today father differently and are more involved with and emotionally connected with their children than were fathers in the past (La Rossa, 1998; Miller, 2011). However, it has also been demonstrated that the involved father/co-parent ideology coexists with the historically significant breadwinner ideology that defines economic provision as the primary normative expectation of fathers (Christiansen & Palkowitz, 2001; LaRossa, 1998; Miller, 2011). According to LaRossa (1998), "the fact that there is a New Fatherhood on the block does not mean necessarily that the Old Fatherhood has left" (p.6).

Understanding of the nature of the practice of contemporary fathering and of the process by which this practice develops in relation to the evolving ideological environment is limited. In this paper, I contribute to understanding of the "current state" of fathering and to understanding of the process by which practices of fathering emerge in relation to men's relational and ideological context. I also contribute to understanding of the degree to which societal shifts in fathers' responsibility for and participation in child care have occurred. I accomplish this by outlining the process of creation of the practices of fathering for 15 Canadian fathers during their

transition to parenthood. I delineate the core components of fathering that emerged from this process. A key contribution of this study is elucidation of the process by which ideological beliefs about fatherhood and key beliefs about gender shared by mothers and fathers in my study develop into actual fathering choices, men's work-family integration behaviors, and a contemporary practice of fathering.

Literature Context

Characterization of Fatherhood Ideology

Despite documentation in the literature about fatherhood of the existence of the co-parenting, involved father ideal (Freeman, 2002; Miller, 2011; Pleck & Pleck, 1997), a point of debate exists about the degree to which the ideology of fatherhood has actually transformed to this ideal. Wall and Arnold (2007), in a discourse analysis of a 1999-2000 Canadian newspaper series about the reality of Canadian families, found that fathers were presented as secondary parents. Assumptions that employment should be central to fathers' lives and that consequently they will have less responsibility than mothers for day-to-day child care went largely unquestioned. Sunderland (2006) came to similar conclusions about representations of fatherhood in North American parenting magazines. She observed that in these magazines fathers were presented as secondary, part-time parents and helpers of mothers. These studies demonstrate that, despite the commonly held assumption that ideologies of fatherhood have dramatically shifted, there is evidence that heavily gendered beliefs about parenthood are also still culturally significant.

The Culture of Fatherhood vs. The Practice of Fathering

Few investigations have studied the relationship of ideologies and paternal behaviors related to work-family integration and care of children. Researchers have, however, noted a

disconnect between the ideals of involved fatherhood and co-parenting and men's actual practices of fathering. In 1988, La Rossa described the asynchronous development of the "culture and conduct" of fatherhood. The culture of fatherhood in the late 1980's, according to La Rossa, was characterized by a belief that fathering and mothering were becoming equivalent in practice. However, the actual conduct of fatherhood was out of step with this belief. LaRossa explained that the cultural belief in androgynous parenthood was a myth. It set expectations for couples but was soon exposed during the transition to parenthood to be untrue and not reflective of fathers' experience. In reality, fathers spent much less time caring for children than did mothers. Mothers were still the primary parents despite beliefs to the contrary.

There is indeed much evidence that, despite the new fatherhood ideals characterizing involvement and co-parenting as the normative expectations of fathers, men still build their practice of fathering on the breadwinner father ideal and around the requirements of the workplace (Cooper, 2000; Duckworth & Buzanell, 2009; Miller, 2010; Miller, 2011). In illustration, in a study of the transition to fatherhood, Miller (2010) found that prior to the birth of their first children, men spoke of being involved, active fathers but that the majority of fathers did not have plans to change their paid work arrangements and reduce the number of days that they worked to make time for child care. All of the fathers considered themselves to be primarily responsible for economic provision for their family. Inevitably, their child care involvement became organized around their paid work participation and they became secondary parents relative to their wives.

Palkowitz (2002) found that when he asked men about the role of fathers they responded by characterizing fathering as a multidimensional role. However, providing was the dimension of fathering that was most frequently identified when fathers were questioned in an open manner

about their roles. Although fathers also mentioned other important dimensions of fathering such as being there for their children and being a role model, the good provider responsibility was clearly of high salience in their identities as good fathers.

Further supporting La Rossa's (1988) assertions, is additional evidence that involved fathering and co-parenting ideals in practice do not seem to mean equal child care responsibility with mothers, who are still the primary parents (Dermott, 2008). Men consistently spend less time in child-care-related activities and performing household work than do women (Bianchi, Robinson, & Milkie, 2006) and fathers spend more hours in market work than do mothers (Bianchi, Robinson, & Milkie, 2006). Fathers have also been documented to not only spend less time in child-care-related activities than mothers but to also spend less time than mothers caring independently for their children. There is evidence that on weekends fathers more closely approach the co-parenting ideal. Their contribution to child care time relative to mothers' is much greater on weekends than it is on weekdays (Yeung, Sandberg, Davis-Kean, & Hofferth, 2001).

If characterization of the nature of the culture of fatherhood is still unclear and if there is also not a clearly understood relationship between the ideology of fatherhood and men's actual parenting behaviors, two additional important question arise. First, "What **do** we know about fathering and about the actions and behaviors that make up its practice?" And second, "What do we know about the process that creates men's practices of fathering within the opportunities and constraints of their context?"

Characterizing Involved Fathering

Much of what we know about involved fathering and co-parenting is what it is not. It is not equal responsibility for and equal time spent in child care or consistent involvement in the same child care-related tasks as mothers. In further illustration, research demonstrates that fathers seem to differ from mothers not only in the quantity of time spent in child care but also in the tasks that compose their time with their children. Fathers spend relatively more time than mothers in interactive tasks such as reading to children, and tasks that parents might find more enjoyable and less onerous than the physical care tasks such as feeding or bathing children that constitute a greater proportion of mothers' child care time (Craig, 2006). Kazura (2000) demonstrated that children play at higher levels with their fathers than with their mothers and that play seems to be a mechanism by which fathers achieve emotional closeness with their children.

Palkowitz (1997) contends that characterizations of the construct of father involvement are typically deficit models that assess the behaviors of fathers based on the commonly utilized measures of mothers' child care practices. The outcome of these assessments is that fathers do not do as much as mothers, neither in child care nor housework. Alternatively, some researchers have developed models of involvement that define the construct of father involvement in more holistic ways and that add dimensions. These different characterizations of involvement have the potential to capture elements of the ways in which fathers practice parenting that are not acknowledged or measured by deficit models. Lamb, Pleck, Charnov, and Levine (1985) defined father involvement as a tri-faceted construct characterized by: 1) the degree of a father's responsibility for the care of children; 2) the availability of the father for interaction with children; and 3) the amount of direct interaction the father has with children. This

characterization influenced scholars in subsequent decades and was a building block for other theorizations of the nature of involved fathering (Marsiglio, Amato, Day, & Lamb, 2000) including Palkowitz' (1997) model.

Palowitz' (1997) model defined involvement as consisting of not only the behavioral dimension that includes the easily observable and often measured parenting tasks such as bathing children or preparing meals. The model added two other dimensions, the affective and the cognitive realms of involvement. Involvement then is conceptualized in a holistic way. The recognition and conceptualization of the affective and cognitive realms means recognizing as acts of involvement tasks such as feeling love for one's child while not in his/her presence and/or thinking about one's child and planning for the meeting of his/her financial needs by working extended hours at paid employment.

Other researchers have also recognized the importance of characterizing the affective dimensions of involvement in the pursuit of understanding and accurately portraying contemporary fatherhood. Dermott (2008) describes a shift in the core elements of the construct of fathering, from publicly displayed roles such as breadwinning as the core elements of fathering practices to a practice of building emotional closeness with children as core (Chapter 4). She asserts that this "emotional turn" (Dermott, 2008, Chpt.4, para.2) is the most significant change associated with the "alleged" changing role of fathers. It is not necessarily that the experience of feelings in relation to one's children is new to fathers but rather that expressing emotions openly seems to be the core component of both the contemporary culture and conduct of fathers.

However, Dermott (2008) expresses some caution about interpreting the current focus on the emotionality of fatherhood as necessarily signifying a break from the past. It is possible that

social scientists are simply finally paying attention to an aspect of fatherhood that was always present but that only recently became an area of research focus. This possibility does not belie the assertion that "the performance of emotion" seems to be "the bedrock to the contemporary concept of 'good fatherhood'" (Dermott, 2008, Chpt. 4, "Emotions as a New," para.2).

Dermott (2008) explains that the performance of emotion as the key component of involved fathering also means that simultaneously there is space in the practice of fathering for other key dimensions such as breadwinning. Emotional attachment to one's child can exist simultaneously with the performance of financial provision. This is a significant difference between mothering and fathering. The intensive mother ideal that is currently the dominant ideological perspective regarding motherhood prescribes that good mothers are primarily focused on children, always available to them, and intensively involved in care of and labour for the child (Hays, 1996). Intensive motherhood, in other words, is associated with particular physical and behavioral child care tasks. On the other hand, the involved fatherhood ideal does not direct such behaviors but rather is primarily constructed of affective tasks such as doing and expressing emotion, and building emotional closeness in the father-child relationship. These affective tasks are not clearly associated with and dependent upon the regular performance of the routine, intensive, physical care of children (Dermott, 2008).

Mothers and the Creation of the Practice of Involved Fathering

As researchers have worked to understand contemporary fathering, the key role that mothers play in the process of the creation of a practice of fathering has begun to emerge. Some mothers have been demonstrated to be gatekeepers who may restrict fathers' involvement in child care (Allen & Hawkins, 1999), particularly when mothers feel that the parental competence of their partners is low (Fagan & Barnett, 2003). It has been demonstrated that fathers act on

progressive beliefs about fatherhood only when mothers engage in low levels of critical, gatekeeping behaviors (Schoppe-Sullivan, Cannon, Brown, Mangelsdorf, & Sokolowski, 2008). It seems that when mothers engage in high levels of criticism of fathers' parenting behaviors the result may be an obstruction of fathers' ability to put beliefs about involved fathering into action.

The research of Cannon, Schoppe-Sullivan, Mangelsdorf, Brown, and Sokolowski (2008) suggested a reciprocal relationship between mothers' support or inhibition of father involvement and the degree of participation of fathers in child-care-related tasks. When fathers were less involved in a play-related task with their infants, for example, mothers engaged in greater facilitation of the fathers' involvement. The researchers hypothesized that these mothers may be responding to the relative uninvolvement of their partners and increasing their efforts to facilitate the fathers' engagement.

Taken together, these studies indicate that men's achievement of the co-parenting ideal is a relational achievement that is negotiated within their couple relationships. Although the roles that mothers play in shaping the ways that their partners parent are still only partially understood, it is clear that the ways in which men father are developed through a transactional process. Together, mothers and fathers co-construct fatherhood (Matta & Knudson-Martin, 2006).

A Critical Shift: The Gender Order and Men's Participation in Paid Work and Child Care Work

The practice of contemporary fathering emerges in relation to ideologies about fatherhood and aspects of men's relational context, and also within the context of current gender and paid work ideals. Much evidence supports the supposition that men are channeled into prioritizing paid work involvement and away from equal child care participation, in part because of the strong association of the paid worker ideal with the successful fulfillment of modern masculinity

(Cooper, 2000; Friedman & Greenhaus, 2000; Miller, 2010; Townsend, 2002), and the relatively high status rewards associated with fulfillment of the masculine ideal. The ideal worker is completely devoted to his/her job, able to put in long hours, and not restricted in his/her devotion to the workplace by caregiving responsibilities (Williams, 2000), a traditionally male model of work. North American workplaces, when compared to their European counterparts, have been slow to adopt flexible work policies. Even when these policies exist, men are often reluctant to use them because of the internalized constraints associated with the masculine paid worker ideal (Vandello, Hetinger, Bosson, & Siddiqi, 2013). Research has also demonstrated that when men do utilize flexible work strategies, they are viewed as being less masculine (Rudman & Mescher, 2013; Vandello et al., 2013) and suffer career penalties such as reduced earnings and fewer promotions (Coltrane, Miller, DeHaan, & Stewart, 2013; Rudman & Mescher, 2013). It seems that shifts in evaluations of normative masculinity are required to transform men's relationships to earning and caring. These shifts will at least partially rest on societal transformation regarding the relative value assigned to "care" and to "earning work**"** and the associations of these activities with femininity and masculinity, respectively. There are still gaps in understanding of the degree to which such a shift in normative masculinity has occurred and about impacts of changing gender ideologies on the ways in which fathers choose to integrate paid work and child care.

The Canadian Family Policy Context

As in many Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries, in recent decades family policy in Canada has shifted significantly towards a welfare state that provides increasing support for combining paid work and family work responsibilities. In 2001, leave policies established in Canada in 1990 were revamped such that the total length of the

parental leave provision increased from 10 to 35 weeks (HRSDC, 2005). The maternity leave period remained constant at 15 weeks, resulting in a total maximum period of leave of 50 weeks. There is some jurisdictional variation in the way that leave provisions are administered. In Alberta, the province in which this study takes place, the parental leave provision is a family benefit and can be divided between parents as they choose (Moss, 2012). The replacement rate of the benefit is 55% of previous insurable earnings up to a maximum threshold value (HRSDC, 2005). Notably, the Canadian government changed parental leave policy in 2017. Parents will now have the option to take an 18-month parental leave, with a 33% monetary replacement rate (Government of Canada, 2017). There is no paternity leave in Canada, including in Alberta, apart from in the province of Quebec which established its own leave program in 2006 (Marshall, 2008).

As in many countries in which parental leave is offered as a family benefit or as an individual benefit without the allotment of "father quotas" or "daddy days" (i.e. periods of leave that only fathers can take) the uptake rate by men in Canada, apart from Quebec, has been low (Moss, 2012). In 2009, 2% of mothers, compared to two-thirds of fathers, returned to work in the first month following birth or adoption. This is unsurprising, since the first 15 weeks of parental leave in Canada are for mothers only. In addition, over half of all mothers (51.5%), and 4% of fathers in Canada took a year or more of leave in 2009 (Moss, 2012). In countries in which there is an individual entitlement to leave and the compensation rate compared to regular earnings is relatively high, leave uptake by men is much higher (Moss, 2012).

Methods

The Current Study

The current study adds to limited knowledge of the process by which the practice of contemporary fathering develops in relation to a shifting ideological and policy environment and in relation to men's relational context. It also contributes to current knowledge of the components of contemporary practices of fathering. The study is a prospective, longitudinal, qualitative investigation that draws on data from two studies, The Mobilizing Intergenerational Social Support During the Transition to Parenthood (MIS) study (Kushner, Williamson, Stewart, Letourneau, Spitzer, & Rempel, 2006-2010) and its follow-up, the Family Well-being and the Family and Paid Work Interface (WFI) study (Kushner, Pitre, Breitkreuz, Williamson, & Rempel, 2010-2012). Since the findings described in this paper are drawn from a longitudinal study and multiple waves of data, it was possible to describe the development of the practice of fathering over time and to document the process by which fathers' ideological environment and key gendered, "common-sense" beliefs that mothers and fathers shared resulted in patterns of choices that created a practice of fatherhood characterized by three domains. Together, the three domains constitute a practice of fathering that is a "compromise" between "old" and "new" ideals of fatherhood.

The MIS study followed 21 families, including 19 men, through their transitions to parenthood, from the time they were expecting their first child until their first child was approximately 18 months old. The study explored the expectations and experiences of men and women as they became first-time parents and the ways in which gender, culture, ideology, policy, and social support, including intergenerational support, impacted their expectations and experiences. The WFI study involved reconnection with 17 of the 21 families when their first

children were approximately four-five years old. The WFI study focused on understanding work-family integration approaches by the families and the ways in which these strategies evolved in context and were shaped by gender, culture, ideology, policy, and social support.

The current study utilized the interviews of both men and their partners who participated in the WFI study and their earlier interviews from the MIS study to answer the following research questions: 1) What are the core components of the practice of contemporary fathering? and 2) What is the pathway to the practice of contemporary fathering and how does it evolve in response to ideological and couple contexts?

Sample and Interviews

Participants were expectant first-time parents residing in the Western Canadian city in which the study was situated. The participants were recruited from prenatal education classes and through referral from community agencies that provided supports for families, for example, agencies that provided health-related supports and services for immigrant and refugee families. My study sample included cultural and socio-economic diversity among 15 men (ranging in age from 25 to 38 years) and their female partners (ranging in age from 20 to 37 years). The sample for the WFI study included one mother who was a lone parent and one married mother who participated without her partner, so although 17 families participated, the sample included 15 fathers in total. All of the participating fathers were married or in common-law relationships. Eleven fathers were of Euro-Canadian origin and four had immigrated from China. At the final interview, fathers' annual family incomes ranged from 30,000 to >$200,000. Table 2 identifies the educational and occupational breakdown of the men who participated in the study.

Table 2: Educational Level and Occupation of Fathers

		Men (n=15)
Years of Education Completed	High school diploma-Incomplete or complete	2
	Incomplete post-secondary	1
	Post-secondary trade/technical	2
	Undergraduate degree	4
	Graduate degree	6
Occupation	Technical	4
	Paraprofessional	1
	Business support	0
	Service	0
	Management	2
	Professional	8

Participants were interviewed at up to four time points: when expecting their first child, at approximately four to six months post-partum, at approximately 15 to 18 months post-partum, and then, for the follow-up interview, when the participants' oldest child was of preschool age, approximately four-five years old.

At the first three interview time points, individual interviews were conducted with all participants at a time and location mutually chosen by them and the interviewer. In the follow-up interviews, participants were asked to choose to participate in either an individual or a couple interview. The time and location of the interview were, again, selected through mutual agreement of the participant and interviewer. If participants no longer resided in the urban centre in which the study team was located, the option to conduct interviews by telephone was provided.

Interviews were 60 to 90 minutes' duration and were audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim. A semi-structured interview format was utilized.

Initial interviews focused on expectations and experiences of parenthood. Participants were asked about their expectations and experiences regarding the role that fathers and mothers played in the family, about the support that mothers and fathers provided for each other, and about the broader social support, workplace, and policy factors that influenced their experiences of the transition to parenthood. In the subsequent three interviews, participants were again asked about their expectations and experiences regarding fatherhood and motherhood, and in addition both fathers and mothers were asked about decision-making about management of paid work and family work and about influences on their decisions. Data from both mothers and fathers about fathers' work-family integration decision-making and about influences on the process were analyzed for this study.

Conducting separate interviews for each member of a couple in the early interviews provided individual participants with privacy and freedom to share thoughts and perspectives that they may have felt uncomfortable sharing in a dyadic interview (Morris, 2001; Taylor & DeVocht, 2011). Participants were assured that their interviews were confidential and that any information they shared would not be shared with their partner. For the final interview, offering participants the choice between an individual or a couple interview format provided control for them to select the format with which they were most comfortable. When participants chose a couple interview, there was an opportunity to understand relationship dynamics associated with couples' co-construction of fatherhood and in addition, the interview format provided couples the opportunity to present their blended or co-constructed perspective on the creation and

practice of fathering in their family (Morgan, Ataie, Corder, & Hoffman, 2013; Taylor & DeVocht, 2011).

Analysis

The analytical process for this study consisted of two stages: a recurrent cross-sectional thematic analysis and a trajectory analysis. The approach to analysis was based on selected principles of institutional ethnography (IE) (Smith, 1987, 2006) and qualitative longitudinal research (QLR) (Grossoeheme & Lipstein, 2016; Thomson & Holland, 2003). QSI NVivo was utilized for data management.

Recurrent cross-sectional analysis. Thematic analysis was conducted using the constant comparison method (Boeije, 2002; Charmaz, 2006) and was guided by core analytical concepts of IE. These analytical concepts were: the "generous" concept of work that is a key component of the theoretical perspective of IE; and the coordinating influence of dominant discourse and ideology (McCoy, 2006; Smith, 1987). These concepts guided my analysis at each time point. I examined fathers' "work" related to management of paid work and child care at each time point and the influences of this work. I also examined the coordinating power of ideology at each time point and looked for the "hooks" to dominant ideology that shaped fathers' pathways to a practice of fathering. I then compared themes across time points (informed by Saldana, 2003) in order to determine what remained constant and what changed over time in relation to the influences and the components of men's practices of fathering.

Trajectory analysis. The cross-sectional thematic analysis was followed by a trajectory analysis. I created timelines for fathers that depicted work-family integration approaches at each study time point, influences of these approaches, and characteristics of the practice of fathering.

This information was the result of the first stage of analysis, the cross-sectional thematic analysis.

Description of the reasons for changes in fathers' work-family integration approaches and practices of fathering between time points was also added to the timelines in order to capture the longitudinal pathway to fathers' practice of fathering. The core analytical concepts of IE also guided the trajectory analysis: I looked for the coordinating influence of ideological discourse on the development of fathers' pathways toward a practice of fathering. A summative pathway was then created that depicted the major components of all fathers' pathways to a contemporary practice of fathering (Figure 2).

Findings

Transition to Secondary Parent Status

Figure 2 illustrates the formation of a practice of fathering by the men who participated in my study. The practice of fathering emerged over time. As illustrated in Figure 2, the beliefs from which the practice of fathering emerged were rooted in the ideology of involved fatherhood and defined by two primary elements: 1) that fathers should be involved caregivers of children; and 2) that mothers and fathers should be co-parents. These core beliefs were quickly modulated by two gendered, common-sense beliefs, however. In all of the participating families, the modulation began early in the transition to parenthood, shaping the way the ideology of fatherhood would be enacted in the context of the reality of fathers' lives. These gendered, common-sense beliefs were: 1) that financial provision for the family was the responsibility of fathers; and 2) that mothers were the owners of the 50 weeks of parental leave to which the family was entitled. These two common-sense beliefs shaped fathers' work-family integration strategies such that over time all of the fathers became the secondary parent and all of the

mothers became the primary parent. Mothers became the family experts in child care and household management as a result of their periods of parental leave during which they were intensively focused on caring for their babies. To support mothers during their parental leaves, fathers specialized in breadwinning because they often felt increased pressure to be successful in their paid employment.

The transition to secondary parent status and the shaping influences of the common-sense understandings are illustrated profoundly through Harold's story. When Harold and his wife, Hannah, were expecting the couple's first child, both parents described a co-parenting and involved father ideal. For example, Hanna said the following in relation to her expectations of Harold as a new father:

> I think Harold needs to be a hands-on dad so even if I think that … I have to give him the chance to be a dad. And I can see myself fussing over Baby and not wanting … knowing that I have to be feeding and that it's my job and that kind of thing. So he needs to be able to daddy and to be part of things. He can't just be in the background.

Evident was her belief that Harold should be very involved in caring for the baby and that he should be an equal partner with her, not just "in the background."

At the time of the couple's first interview, Hannah was the primary earner in the family. She was well established in a high-paying, professional career. Harold had recently completed his professional degree and was preparing for a position as a mentored associate with an established professional, a position that was a continuation of his education. This position was both temporary and relatively low paid compared to his wife's employment.

Despite this financial reality, the couple approached decision-making about parental leave with the implicit understanding that Hannah owned their family parental leave provision. The understanding was that she had an unquestioned right and/or responsibility to take the full leave and that Harold was ultimately responsible for economic provision. The family did not seriously consider the option of Harold taking a leave of absence from his temporary, paid work after Hannah had recovered from childbirth and of Hannah returning to full-time paid employment. This could have been considered a viable option for the couple since Hannah's earnings were much higher than Harold's. She was well established in her career, and her return to full-time employment would have effectively addressed the intense financial pressure that the couple was anticipating if she took a year of parental leave.

The common-sense understandings illustrated in Figure 2 shaped a consideration of work-family integration options that always had at their core the assumptions that the period of parental leave belonged to Hannah and that Harold ultimately had a right and responsibility to keep on with his professional training so that he could make sure that the family's financial needs were well met in the future. Harold and Hannah's story illustrates the power of the common-sense beliefs to modulate involved father ideology. As the continuation of Harold's story will illustrate, these beliefs also set them, and other families like them, on a trajectory that brought about a practice of fathering that positioned men as secondary parents.

In her second interview, when her baby was about a year old, Hannah discussed an interesting transition that occurred during the first year of the baby's life. Harold was initially more experienced with infant care than she was, and she relied on his knowledge of caregiving when the baby first arrived. But during her parental leave she evolved into the parenting expert

and he evolved into the secondary parent as he maintained a focus on his professional development. She said, in conversation with the interviewer:

> Hannah: Yeah. Umm. Harold was kind of a motivator in children. And I have very little experience with children. So I relied on him heavily at the beginning for - I didn't even really know how to pick up a baby. In all honesty. I'd never - I'd changed a diaper but just - like, with somebody watching over my shoulder as kind of a, you know, "You should change a diaper." So I knew nothing. So I heavily relied on him for, for that kind of thing. But then it's funny because 'cause then I got - then I was with her all the time, so then when knowledge transfer kind of changed and all of a sudden, ME who was, needed him for support and he was asking me? And that was a little bit of a hard transition. Umm.
>
> Interviewer: 'Cause he was back at work.
>
> Hannah: 'Cause he was back at work. Yeah, and - and of course needed to be concentrating and doing that and then all of a sudden I just got to know her better and - and I knew how to handle her. So that was a bit of a challenge.

Guided by the common-sense beliefs, Hannah chose to stay home for the year of parental leave and became the parenting expert while Harold concentrated on paid work and financial provision. They each developed different skills and became specialized to practice in different spheres.

All fathers experienced the transition to secondary parent status, albeit to different degrees and with different personal reactions to the transition. Patrick, an upper-middle income father employed in a technical field, worked away from home for weeks at a time. He saw his status as co-parent change to that of secondary parent over the course of the study. He seemed to experience a sense of profound loss due to this transition. In the following quote, Patrick describes the meaning and pleasure that he took from having been uniquely skilled at soothing his infant to sleep in the early days after the infant's arrival. He also describes the experience of

the loss of this ability as the closeness between his partner, Paige, and the infant grew while she was on parental leave. The baby became more dependent on breastfeeding to fall asleep:

> I think the greatest feeling is still just to - is to actually make him fall, to get him to fall asleep. Is one of the greatest feelings, like – I can't do it much anymore because he needs his, most of the time he needs his mom. But {ahem} 'cause he cries when I try to do it because he wants some breast milk to fall asleep, he's so used to it, but when he was younger, the first three or four months, I could actually always put him to sleep just by sitting in that rocking chair there and I think that was the greatest, the most surprising feeling, is just to – just to rock with him and just hold him in that one way and I could, I'd always tell Paige, I said give me two minutes or three minutes I said, I know I can put him to sleep and it was just having him lay against my chest and bare skin to skin and that.

There seems to be a loss for Patrick associated with moving into the role of secondary parent and away from a co-parenting vision. This sense of loss was shared by other fathers in my study. They expressed sadness as they realized that the reality of the way they had enacted fathering, shaped upon the understanding that financial provision was their ultimate responsibility, had resulted in their playing a secondary role in relation to their children's care.

Many fathers spoke of the transition to secondary parent status as a "natural" transition rooted in the innate nature of men and women. They often attributed the transition to breastfeeding and to the resulting closeness that developed between mother and child that also excluded fathers. Fathers often spoke of and hoped for a change in their relationship to their children over time. Many fathers shared a vision that, as the children grew older, their role as fathers would become more important and more central to their children. For example, Vincent, who worked very long hours in a demanding professional role, described a lack of time with his children as one of the central concerns of his life. Vincent shared the following hope in his final interview:

> I realized I have a dream. As an example I would love to be an assistant soccer coach for my kids some day. They are gonna be getting into sports and so there's gonna be more, there's gonna be more responsibilities for me to help out and so then if I'm at work or

> doing all these other things, I won't have time for that so I really hope that I can make it work so that I can do those sorts of things.

Fathers' Child Care Shift

Established as secondary parents, for the majority of fathers (14/15) participation in a fathers' child care shift was key to the successful enactment of involved fatherhood ideology. The fathers' child care shift consisted of time spent intensively focused on children and their care. It occurred around the perimeters of fathers' paid work responsibilities, usually at the end of the day, after they had completed their paid work hours. Regular participation in the work of the fathers' child care shift was often an exhausting commitment to keep. Fathers sacrificed sleep and leisure time to create the time to participate in the child care shift. Fathers' intrinsic commitment to the child care shift seemed to stem from their desire and need to carve out enough time with their children that they were able to establish a unique, father-child bond. It seemed that the child care shift was an attempt to establish their importance to their children relative to mothers, whose importance to children was pre-eminent. For example, in his final (individual) interview, Harold says of his time spent in the child care shift:

> I wanna participate in, in my family life, so I don't want to be, you know, an outside member looking in and seeing my daughters grow up and not be a part of that…

The following quote from Allan illustrates the relationship between child care shift participation and the "carving out" of a place for fathers in children's lives in relation to the dominant place of mothers. In his third interview, when his daughter is about 18 months old, Allan describes his relationship with his young daughter relative to his wife, Ava's, relationship with the child:

> …I – I think I'm part of her life, which is what I wanted to be at this point with her. I'm not just the – the visitor in her life, right, the father who she doesn't see. And there's things that we do, we do together that – you know, things that we have between us and that she has between Ava too, which is I think that she needs to have those with Ava. The things

> she can do with either one of us. And yet there's certain things, there's her nighttime routine which either one of us can do – but she tends to expect it from me, especially the bath. Umm. Certain games she likes to play with me. You know. She likes to play tag with me. You know, or hide and seek.

The motivation to participate in the child care shift also seemed to stem from fathers' beliefs that they owed such participation to their partners. Fathers spoke of their partners having the "harder job" as primary parents. Fathers also seemed to evaluate the work of primary parenting and primary nurturance of children as being more valuable than the work of breadwinning. Because primary parenting was evaluated as being harder and also more valuable than breadwinning, fathers and mothers both approached the child care shift as a time in which fathers could and should relieve mothers of their parenting duties and give them a well-deserved break. For example, Allan, who worked long hours in a demanding professional role, and whose wife, Ada, provided stay-at-home care for their children reflected on his experience of the child care shift when his first child was about 18 months old and Ada was expecting the couple's second child. Speaking of Ada, Allan says:

> We're kind of getting to the point now where if she gets tired, even now during the pregnancy, the same kind of thing and she has a long day with our baby I'll stay up late. To get those things finished. It's okay for me. If our baby wakes up at three, I'll get up with her and calm her down and put her back to bed…

Allan, follows up on his comment above, by stating that he learned after the arrival of his first infant, that he can continue to perform adequately at his paid work "on three hours sleep for at least a couple months." At other points in his interview, Allan comments on the relatively light intensity of his experience at his paid work compared to the intensity of Ada's days as she manages being pregnant and taking care of the couple's young daughter. He says, for example, "So it's a lot easier for me during the day comparative as to what she's doing throughout the day."

As Allan's account illustrates, participation in the fathers' child care shift was a significant commitment that resulted in time-related stress and physical and mental exhaustion for many fathers. An expected commitment to a potentially exhausting fathers' child care shift could create tensions in fathers' relationships with their wives. Some fathers experienced frustration when they felt pushed by their wives to participate more in child care and household work and they already felt that they were at maximum output as they attempted to balance the child care shift with their paid work commitments. In illustration, Luke says the following about the dynamic he experienced with his wife regarding his child care shift:

> I mean I mean if she put up a huge front all the time in getting stuff done, I mean at some point I'm just break and, you know, what I mean because there's a necessity for me to do a lot at home like I don't feel I actually get a break, you know what I mean? My break is hanging out with my kid, like that's my break. But in that respect I'm still, you know, getting him on the bike, going for a bike ride, getting him dressed, doing potty breaks doing everything right? Everything that a parent does but that's my break in the day and then my other break is when I get sleep and that's it. And so uhh ya it's difficult, but with her support it's manageable

Two fathers who participated in my study were married to women who, apart from periods of maternity and parental leave, maintained full-time employment throughout the duration of the study. These two fathers developed different relationships to the fathers' child care shift. They were different from each other and different from the other fathers who participated in the study.

One of the two fathers, Jie, participated in the child care shift but he seemed to rely almost completely on his wife to tell him how and how much to participate. He referred to his wife as "the boss." Both Jie and his wife, Jun, agreed that if she did not monitor his child care shift participation closely, he would, as Jie put it, "disappear every day" in the evenings. In his final interview, Jie described his ideal family arrangement: in his ideal, he wouldn't be required to participate in any family work in the evenings, including child care. This ideal was in contrast to

that of the majority of fathers who were intrinsically motivated to participate in a child care shift and who "claimed" the child care shift as their regular time to spend with their children. Jie was a more reluctant participant than other fathers in the study who seemed propelled to participate in the child care shift in order to create an essential place for themselves in relation to their children's care and in order to give their partners a break from the work of primary parenting.

Scott, the second father whose wife maintained full-time employment throughout the study, also had a unique relationship to the fathers' child care shift. Scott's wife, Sarah, had used the majority of the couple's allotted parental leave time but, outside of periods of maternity and parental leave, Scott and Sarah both were employed a similar number of hours and were relatively equally involved in the work of the child care shift. Because Scott and Sarah were relatively equally responsible for their children's care, the child care shift did not have the salience for Scott that it did for other fathers who participated in the study. It seemed that Scott did not have the need that other fathers had to "claim" the child care shift as his time with the children in order to build his unique relationship with them. Also, because he and Sarah enacted very similar roles in the family, Scott did not seem to be under an obligation to relieve Sarah of parenting duties. In the final interview, a couple interview, Sarah, said, "…we like tag team, you know" and Scott spoke about the child care shift as a component of family life for which he and Sarah shared responsibility.

Evaluations of Fathers Within Couples

It went without saying in the majority of families that fathers bore ultimate responsibility for their families' financial well-being and most fathers self-monitored when it came to the domain of economic provision. Many mothers spoke of the appreciation they felt for their husband's breadwinning, often because it was an enabler of their work as a mother, particularly

if they provided stay-at-home mother care for their children. For example, as Paige, a mother who provided full-time stay-at-home care for her child, explained in her final interview, "I am often thankful for Patrick because he is working and allowing me the opportunity to stay home and be a mom, which is fantastic."

However, the basis for assessing fathers' success as involved fathers was the work of the fathers' child care shift and not involvement in the domain of economic provision. Mothers assisted fathers in achieving success as involved fathers by monitoring the fathers' performance. Economic provision seemed to be their baseline or lowest acceptable standard for an acceptable practice of fathering. To be exemplary performers, fathers needed to be intrinsically motivated to participate in the work of the child care shift and to do so regularly and reliably around the perimeters of their paid work involvement. It was not equal participation in child care with mothers that was the measure, but rather the desire to be involved with children that was important.

Veronica and Vincent's experience is an exemplar of this finding. Vincent worked in a demanding professional position, six days/week. He often returned home from his paid work very late in the evenings. Veronica provided full-time stay-at-home care for the couple's two young children. Both Veronica and Vincent spoke of the strain that Veronica was under because of Vincent's busy work schedule, which precluded his being involved in child care as much as both of them would like. Yet, Veronica rated Vincent very highly as an involved father because of his demonstration of an intrinsic desire to spend time with his children and because of the positive comparison she made between Vincent and other fathers. Speaking of Vincent's interactions with the couple's two children when he returns home at the end of his work day, she said:

> Yeah like when he, if he comes in the door and they're you know, I've had a long day maybe, you know, tensions are high or whatever. I mean he really, he senses it right away. "Oh guys let's, you know go for a bike ride while mommy makes dinner" or something like that and he's totally there when he can be so he's really good about that, which is nice. Yeah and I think you always compare yourself with your friends and their husbands and stuff and I would say like of all my friends' husbands, he probably has the most. So I would never ever complain, you know.

Many other mothers in the study spoke of themselves as being "lucky" because of their husbands' willing involvement in the fathers' child care shift. Sarah, for example, said of her husband, Scott:

> And like Scott's so GOOD for that, like just helping out, you know, and just like the I, I have SO many friends whose husbands just don't do, they don't do a quarter of what Scott does and I don't KNOW if, like if I could DO it all. Like he does a LOT.

And Hannah reflecting on her transition to motherhood, said of her husband Harold:

> I would never have been able to do without him. If he was one of these husbands that didn't change diapers or didn't, you know. I honestly wouldn't have made it through.

In contrast, Jun, whose husband Jie reluctantly and at her urging, participated in the child care shift but wasn't intrinsically motivated to do so, seemed dissatisfied with Jie's performance as an involved father. It seemed that it was his lack of intrinsic motivation to participate in the child care shift that was a root of her poor evaluation of Jie's performance.

Mothers not only seemed to monitor and assess but also facilitate fathers' involvement in the fathers' child care shift because they seemed to share with fathers the responsibility for the fathers' participation in this work. In this way, mothers and fathers together created a practice of fathering. In many families, mothers created opportunities for their partners to be involved with their children, even before the children were born.

For example, when Patrick was asked in his first interview about supports that he'd received as he prepared to be a father, he responded by talking about ways in which Paige drew him into a practice of fathering. He explained that Paige would read parenting books and then suggest that Patrick also read them. He said:

> But also, she's very, been very supportive with making, like reading lots and educating herself. So it's like her trying to educate me, making me read books, well, not making me but trying to get me to read books about a lot of what pregnancy's like and stuff to help out. So I'd say that she was the most supportive...

Paige and many other mothers spoke throughout their interviews of their mindfulness regarding the creation of space and opportunities for their partners to participate actively in child care. For example, Wanda's husband, Wallace, worked a shift schedule when their baby was first born. Wanda adjusted the baby's daytime schedule to coordinate with Wallace's schedule, so that Wallace had opportunities to spend time with the baby. In addition, when mothers felt that fathers' paid work was interfering too much in the work of the fathers' child care shift, they would inform fathers of this fact and encourage them to place limitations on their paid work hours.

The following excerpt from an interview with Laura illustrates the work that mothers did with their partners to help them place appropriate limitations on their paid work participation in order to facilitate adequate involvement in the fathers' child care shift. In an individual interview when her first child was about four years old, Laura reflected on experiences with her partner, Luke, following his acceptance of a new job, a job that he took in order to facilitate his involvement with his family in the child care shift:

Laura: If I am like painfully explicit and very demanding, then he will kind of like comply [laughs] which it sounds like I have to be an awful person but when he got this new position he

wouldn't come home like at the end of the work day. He would always try, like everyday he would phone me at 5 and feel me out, "I have got a couple of hours of work" and I am like "NO' like you took this job. And the thing is like…it is a pay cut… And so, that was a compromise that we made for our family… and so when he starts, you know, like he is going to stay there, I am like "NO… We took this pay cut, you come home and you eat with us, you know? If you want to turn your computer on at 8:30 when the baby is in bed, that is fine, but you get your bones home now.

Interviewer: And how has that worked out?

Laura : Well, the first month, was just like constantly, like everyday it was a struggle. And he would phone me every day and feel me out and now he doesn't bother he just comes home after work. Maybe once a month he will call and be like "Honey, I am running 30 minutes late." And that's fine, like I understand that, that's good, like I feel like we have the expectation has been set, it is followed.

Discussion

The Relationship Between Attitudes, Beliefs, and Behaviors for Involved Fathers

My study contributes to understanding the process of creating the practice of contemporary fathering. Findings elucidate the relatively unstudied relationship between ideological beliefs about fatherhood and the paid work and child care choices that underlie the practice of fathering. Dermott (2008) states, "…while strong views about motherhood may correspond to a set of behavioral expectations, contemporary fatherhood does not equate to childcare tasks in the same way" (Chpt. 5, "Negotiating Attitudes," para.11).

As my study demonstrates, the lack of a clear cultural definition of involved fatherhood means that the practice of involved fathering is malleable. Its definition comes about through a process of evolution during the transition to parenthood. Because involved fatherhood does not translate clearly into particular actions, including particular child care related behaviors, its "expression" is at the mercy of less nebulous ideologies and systems of belief that more clearly translate into particular behaviors. The nebulous ideology of involved fatherhood is modulated

by the belief systems of the traditional gender order, that is, the traditional roles of mothers and fathers associated with separate spheres, which are more clearly defined.

As reviewed in the introduction to this paper, the "old" ideology of father as breadwinner coexists with involved fatherhood, or co-parent ideology (La Rossa, 1998). The ideology of father as breadwinner along with dominant motherhood ideology, or intensive motherhood, align closely with the traditional gender order. They translate clearly and easily into particular work-family integration choices. They translate into the common-sense, gendered beliefs that mothers own parental leave and that fathers are ultimately responsible for financial provision. These beliefs "dictate" particular behavioral choices. They lead to women becoming the primary parent since they "specialize" in child care during the first year of the child's life because they are entitled to the one year of parental leave. These beliefs also dictate that the father becomes the secondary parent since he specializes in financial provision/breadwinning. Over time and influenced by their behavioral transformation into secondary parents, fathers' beliefs about the "proper" role for fathers are modulated such that they accept that the status of secondary parent is their natural role in the family, a change from their initial ideological position, a genderless, co-parenting ideal.

My study, then, demonstrates how a belief in involved father ideology comes to be expressed as particular behaviors. Held to account to the breadwinning requirements dictated by the traditional gender order but also still guided by the nebulous but compelling belief in involved fatherhood, the practice of fathering evolves into one that may be viewed as a blending of the old and the new. In response to the development of this practice of fathering, fathers' beliefs about fatherhood adjust such that they reflect fathers' reality: fathers move from an ideological position in which involved fatherhood is synonymous with equal co-parenting, to one

in which involved fatherhood and breadwinning ideology co-exist in father's belief systems about the correct way to father.

My study builds on findings from Kushner, Sopcak, Breitkreuz, Pitre, and Rempel (2017) that demonstrated that at the third MIS study time point, fathers' idealized system of support consisted of supports that would enable them to be involved with their children and also provide financially for their families. Kushner et al. (2007) described the tension that men felt as they strove to fulfill this dual role. My study adds to these findings by providing rich description of the lived reality of this tension in fathers' lives and elucidation of the practice of fathering that emerges from this tension. Although the practices that define involved fathering revolve around a providing role, the core components of those practices also include establishing a unique, emotionally close relationship with children and providing high-quality respite care for mothers. Evidence from other studies also suggests that a core aspect of contemporary fatherhood is fathers' commitment to emotional closeness with their children achieved through open expression of love and active relationship building (Dermott, 2008).

The Fathers' Child Care Shift and the Slowly Transforming Gender Order

The ideology of involved fatherhood seems to create a system of understanding in which mothers and fathers are united by valuing "emotion work" and emotional closeness with children. Almost all of the mothers and fathers in my study shared an understanding that emotional closeness with children is the measure of success for both mothers and fathers. Mothers evaluated fathers on the basis of their intrinsic will to be involved with their children and provide respite care in order to develop a close, fatherly relationship with them. Fathers were not expected to demonstrate, relative to mothers, equality of knowledge about and participation

in care for their children. Fathers demonstrated their commitment to developing emotional closeness with their children by committing to a "fathers' child care shift."

It is important to note that many of the fathers in my study worked very long days, and that performing the fathers' child care shift was an exhausting commitment. Hochschild (1989) described an exhausting second shift for women who were combining paid work and child care responsibilities. In my study, however, it seemed that many men were working a second shift. They were breadwinners spending long days in paid work and then coming home to provide respite and build emotional closeness with their children. In Hochschild's (1989) account, it seemed that unpaid, caring work was invisible and not recognized in a couple's evaluations of the contributions of each partner. In my study, paid work participation seemed to take on a somewhat invisible and taken-for-granted quality. It was necessary for the family's survival but was in the background. It was not the activity that men were evaluated on when their success as fathers was assessed, either by themselves or by their wives.

Men were providing their wives with respite whenever they were available to do so around the limitations created by their paid work commitments. In doing so, men were demonstrating that they highly value emotional closeness with children and also value and respect the work that the mother in her role of primary parent is doing to build a close emotional bond with her child. The act of providing regular respite seemed to be a way of saying to their wives that the work of mothering is not (no longer?) invisible and that it is valued and recognized.

Providing respite for mothers also demonstrated the value that fathers placed on the mothers' caregiving work in another way. In the old gender order, men were entitled to their wives' household labour, including child care work, because of the men's economic contributions to the family (Tichenor, 2005). By providing respite to the mother when they came

home from paid work, men were demonstrating that the mothers' child care work during the day was important and valuable (no less or perhaps even more valuable than their breadwinning labour). The men were demonstrating that the mother was entitled to receive support and unpaid labour from the father.

Loss and Secondary Parent Status

Whereas other studies have demonstrated strategies utilized by couples to intentionally maintain patriarchal relations, the findings of my study demonstrate that for the couples who participated in my study, the maintenance of patriarchy in their work-family integration approaches was an unintended consequence of enacting seemingly common-sense beliefs guided by the gender order. Enacting the beliefs that parental leave belonged to the mother and that the father was ultimately responsible for breadwinning early in the transition to parenthood, resulted in fathers unintentionally moving into the position of secondary parent in their families. In my study, I saw evidence that both mothers and fathers thought that caring for children was a valuable activity and a privilege. Both mothers and fathers wished to have access to and participate in the work of caring for their children. However, they did not have equal access to child care participation because of the enduring impacts of the gendered, common-sense beliefs that shaped a practice of fathering in which fathers were secondary parents.

Hochschild (1989) described a process by which fathers avoided full participation in household work and child care by feigning incompetence and deliberately "forgetting" to perform particular household tasks. She suggested that this was a way for fathers to resist the dismantling of patriarchy and the loss of their entitlement to receive household labour and caring from their wives. Tichenor (2005) observed a practice amongst couples in which the mother was a higher earner than the father. In the majority of these couples, the mother and father worked

together to maintain traditional gender roles. The mothers, despite their economic contributions and heavy involvement in paid work, continued to take primary responsibility for household tasks and made light of their financial contributions to their family while fathers affirmed the mothers' responsibility for the household and didn't step in to reduce their unpaid work responsibilities.

Tichenor (2005) hypothesizes that mothers accept the heavy unpaid work burden to emphasize their femininity and their success as wives and mothers in accordance with current ideology, such as intensive motherhood ideology. She also suggests that high-earning mothers may maintain responsibility for the household work because they are aware that their husband's masculinity is threatened by the mother's fulfillment of the breadwinning role. They therefore downplay their financial success and maintain the traditional gender order in the home domain by taking primary responsibility for labour there and by privileging their husbands. The strategies described by Hochschild (1989) and Tichenor (2005) that enable fathers to avoid involvement in the work of the household, including child care, demonstrate a desire to avoid this work.

For the fathers in my study, in contrast, the process of becoming secondary parent and having limits placed on closeness with children, was not an experience they actively sought or created. Rather, for many fathers, it was something that "happened to them," and it resulted in a profound experience of loss. The transition into the role of secondary parent did not seem to be the result of a willful, premeditated decision. It was the outcome of the malleability of the involved fatherhood ideology and the dictatorial nature of the well-defined gender order. Many fathers in the study lamented the lack of closeness they had with their children relative to the maternal-child relationship.

In my study, the lack of fathers' equal involvement to mothers in caring for children seemed to be more about lack of confidence and lack of parenting experience associated with being secondary parent and less about feigned incompetence and acts of premeditated will to not participate equally in child care. I am not suggesting that power was not at play. Many fathers in my study who spoke very clearly about their intention to be involved fathers also spoke about a desire to stay heavily involved in paid employment, of their love of their paid work, and of their associated need to have limits placed on their responsibility for and time spent in child care. This demonstrates some ambivalence regarding the embracing of a co-parent role at the expense of unfettered access to paid work participation.

Policy Opportunities

The practice of fathering evolves over time early in the transition to parenthood and is largely shaped by entrenched, gendered beliefs about mothers' as well as fathers' respective areas of responsibility. This finding suggests that policies that impact entrenched beliefs about mothers' and fathers' roles in the family have substantial power to shape a different practice of fathering. In Canada, family policies in the province of Quebec, and the establishment of "daddy days" indeed demonstrate the malleability of the practice of fathering and support the idea that involved fathering is a very flexible construct, the definition of which is largely developed in response to environmental conditions. In Quebec, the establishment of daddy days has resulted in a significant increase in the number of fathers taking parental leave and also led to long term impacts on family distribution of paid work and household labour. In Quebec, since the establishment of the new family policy, families have exhibited less gender specialization with long term positive effects of the policy on mothers' labour force participation and on fathers' involvement in household work (Patnaik, 2016). Because the practice of fathering is not well-

defined and fathers find their way of practicing through trial and error in response to the opportunities and constraints in their relational and ideological context, perhaps even more than mothering, fathering can be shaped by new opportunities created by policy that reshape distributions of paid and unpaid work early in the transition to parenthood. Since the patterns of behaviors established early in the transition to parenthood seem to be enduring and define the practice of fathering in the long term, policy interventions that create new patterns of early fathering behaviors would enable a new practice of fathering in the long term.

Limitations and Future Research

A limitation of this study is that the findings are based on a relatively small sample and in addition, the sample is not representative of the cultural and socioeconomic diversity of the population in Alberta, or more broadly in Canada. The generalizability of findings may, therefore, be limited. A second limitation is that this study is a secondary analysis of qualitative data. Consequently, I did not have an opportunity to ask further questions about my developing interpretations and to confirm them with participants.

An important area of future research is to determine if the process of development and core components of the practice of fathering described in this paper also capture the experience of fathers in different cultural and socioeconomic positions and in diverse family types.

Conclusion

My study demonstrates important shifts in the gender order among couples as they parent young children. Successful breadwinning is no longer the marker of success of involved fathers. Instead, it has become expected but not the most highly valued activity of fathers. Fathers are instead evaluated on the basis of their contributions to the family in the emotional realm and their

demonstration that they value and are committed to building emotional closeness with their children.

The fathers in my study demonstrated the high value that they placed on the "emotion work" of parenting in two key ways. Fathers provided financially and emotionally for their wives who fulfilled the role of primary parents. Fathers also came home from their paid work to provide a fathers' child care shift, thereby demonstrating that their wives were entitled to respite from the highly-valued position of primary parent.

Feminist theorists, England (2010) and Olson (2002) contended that a shift in the valuing of caregiving work was critical to creating gender equality. My findings provide evidence of this dynamic and demonstrate that the shift is underway. In the process of creating men's practices of fathering during the transition to parenthood, the old and the new are melded. Old breadwinning ideals are merged with involved father expectations. The result is a practice of fathering that reflects a recognition of the importance of caregiving and emotion work even if men still do not have equal access to participation in child care relative to women. The allegedly stalled gender revolution is moving slowly, and the second stage of the gender revolution is creeping along.

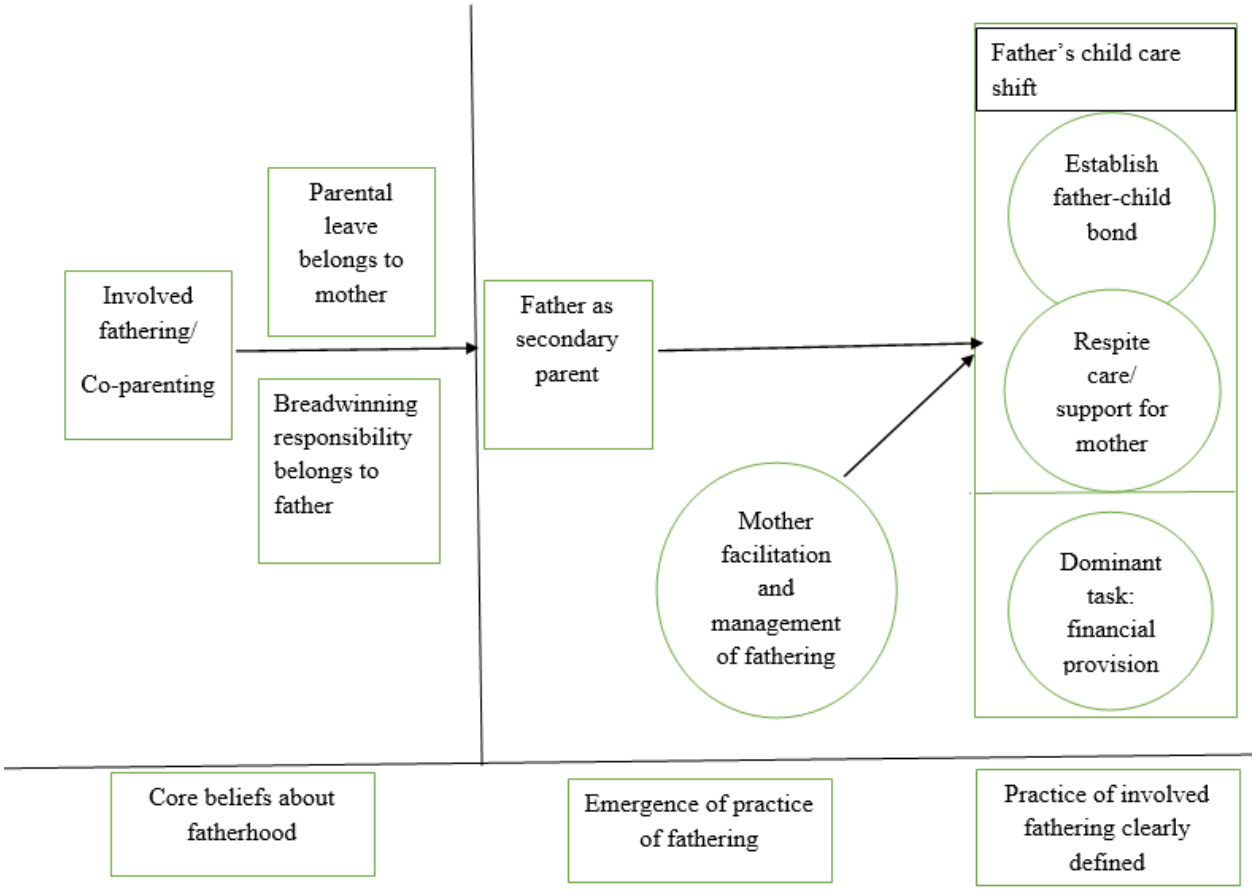


Figure 2: The Pathway to the Practice of Contemporary Fathering

References

Allen, S. M., & Hawkins, A. J. (1999). Maternal gatekeeping: Mothers' beliefs and behaviors that inhibit greater father involvement in family work. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 61,* 199–212

Bianchi, S., Robinson, J., & Milkie, M., (2006). *The changing rhythms of American family life.* New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Boeijie, H. (2002). A purposeful approach to the constant comparative method in the analysis of qualitative interviews. *Quality & Quantity, 36,* 391-409.

Cannon, E. A.**,** Schoppe-Sullivan, S. J., Mangelsdorf, S. C., Brown, G. L., & Sokolowski, M. S. (2008). Parent characteristics as antecedents of maternal gatekeeping and fathering behavior. *Family Process, 47,* 501-519.

Charmaz, K. (2006). *Constructing grounded theory: A practical guide through qualitative analysis.* London: Sage Publications, Ltd.

Christiansen, S., & Palkovitz, R. (2001). Why the "good provider" role still matters': Providing as a form of paternal involvement. *Journal of Family Issues, 22,* 84-106.

Coltrane, A., Miller, E. DeHaan, T., & Stewart, L. (2013). Fathers and the flexibility stigma. *Journal of Social Issues, 69*, 279-302.

Cooper, M. (2000). Being the "go-to guy": Fatherhood, masculinity, and the organization of work in silicon valley. *Qualitative Sociology, 23,* 379-405.

Craig, L. (2006). Does father care mean fathers share? A comparison of how mothers and fathers in intact families spend time with children. *Gender and Society, 20,* 259-281.

Dermott, E. (2008). *Intimate fatherhood: A sociological* analysis. [Kobo Version}. Retrieved from https://www.kobo.com/

Duckworth, J., & Buzzanell, P. (2009). Constructing work-life balance and fatherhood: Men's framing of the meaning of *both* work *and* family. *Communication Studies, 60,* 558-573.

England, P. (2010). The gender revolution: Uneven and stalled. *Gender & Society, 24*, 149-166.

Fagan, J., & Barnett, M. (2003). The relationship between maternal gatekeeping, paternal competence, mothers' attitudes about the father role, and father involvement. *Journal of Family Issues, 24,* 1020–1043.

Fraser, N. (1997) `After the family wage: A postindustrial thought experiment', (pp. 41-66). In Fraser, N., *Justice interruptus: Critical reflections on the ``postsocialist`` condition.* New York, NY: Routledge.

Freeman, T. (2003). Loving father or deadbeat Dads: The crisis of fatherhood in popular culture. In S. Earle & G. Letherby (Eds.). *Gender, Identity & Reproduction* (33-49). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Friedman, S., & Greenhaus, J. (2000). *Work and family — Allies or enemies.* New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Goldberg, W., Tan, E. & Thorsen, K. (2009). Trends in academic attention to fathers, 1930-2006. *Fathering*, *7*, 159-179.

Goldscheider, F., Bernhardt, E. & Lappegard, T. (2015). The gender revolution: A framework for understanding changing family and demographic behavior. *Population & Development Review*, 41, 207-239.

Government of Canada (2017). *Budget 2017: Building a strong middle class.* Retrieved from Government of Canada website: http://www.budget.gc.ca/2017/docs/plan/chap-01-en.html#Toc477707320

Grossoehme, D. & Lipstein, E. (2016). Analyzing longitudinal qualitative data: the application of trajectory and recurrent cross-sectional approaches. *BMC Research Notes 9, 136*. DOI 10.1186/s13104-016-1954-1

Hays. S. (1996). *The cultural contradictions of motherhood.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Hochschild, A. (1989). *The second shift: Working parents and the revolution at home.* New York: Penguin Books.

HRSDC (2005). *Summative evaluation of EI parental benefits.* (Statistics Canada Catalogue No. HS28-25/2005E.) Retrieved from: http://publications.gc.ca/collections/collection_2008/hrsdc-rhdsc/HS28-25-2005E.pdf

Jacobs, J. & Gerson, K. (2004). *The time divide: Work, family, and gender inequality.* Harvard University Press: Cambridge, MA.

Kazura, K. (2000). Fathers' qualitative and quantitative involvement: An investigation of attachment, play, and social interactions. *The Journal of Men's Studies, 9,* 41-57.

Kushner, K.E., Sopcak, N., Breitkreuz, R., Pitre, N., Williamson, D.L, & Rempel, G. (2017). On shifting ground: First-time parents` ideal world of paid work and family time. *Community, Work & Family, 20,* 119-141.

Lamb, M.E., Pleck, J.H., Charnov, E.L., & Levine, J.A. (1985). Paternal behavior in humans. *American Zoologist*, 25, 883-894

LaRossa, R. (1997). *The modernization of fatherhood: A social and political history.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Marshall, (2008). *Perspectives: Fathers' use of paid parental leave.* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 75-001-X). Retrieved from http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/75-001-x/2008106/pdf/10639-eng.pdf

Marsiglio, W., Amato, P., Day, R. D., & Lamb, M. E. (2000). Scholarship on fatherhood in the 1990s and beyond. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 62*, 1173-1191.

Matta, D., & Knudson-Martin, C. (2006). Father responsivity: Couple processes and the coconstruction of fatherhood. *Family Process, 45,* 19-37.

McCoy, L. (2006). Keeping the institution in view: Working with interview accounts of everyday experience. In D.E. Smith (Ed.), *Institutional ethnography as practice* (pp. 109-125). Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Miller, T. (2010). "It's a triangle that's difficult to square": Men's intentions and practices around caring, work and first-time fatherhood. *Fathering, 8,* 362-378.

Miller, T. (2011). Falling back into gender? Men's narratives and practices around first-time fatherhood. *Sociology, 45,* 1094-1109.

Morgan, D. L., Ataie, J., Carder, P., & Hoffman, K. (2013). Introducing dyadic interviews as a method for collecting qualitative data. *Qualitative Health Research*, 23(9), 1276-1284.

Morris, S. (2001). Joint and individual interviewing in the context of cancer. *Qualitative Health Research, 11,* 553-567.

Moss, P. (2012). (Ed.) International review of leave policies and related research 2012. *International Network on Leave Policies and Research.* London: Institute of Education, University of London.

Olson, K. (2002). Recognizing gender, redistributing labor. *Social Politics, 9,* 380-410.

Palkovitz, R. (1997). Reconstructing involvement: Expanding conceptualizations of men's caring in contemporary families. In D. C. Dollahite & A.J. Hawkins (Eds.), Generative fathering: Beyond deficit perspectives (pp. 201–216). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Palkowitz, R. (2002). *Involved fathers and men's adult development: Provisional balances*. Mahwah NJ: Erlbaum.

Patnaik, A. (2016). Reserving Time for Daddy: The Short and Long-Run Consequences of Fathers' Quotas. *SSRN*. Retrieved from https://ssrn.com/abstract=2475970 or http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2475970

Pleck, E. & Pleck, J. (1997). Fatherhood ideals in the United States: Historical dimensions. In Lamb, M (Ed.), *The role of the father in child development* (pp.33-48). New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

Rudman, L., & Mescher, K. (2013). Penalizing men who request a family leave: Is flexibility stigma a femininity stigma? *Journal of Social Issues, 69*, 322-340.

Saldana, J. (2003). *Qualitative longitudinal research: Analyzing change through time.* (Kobo Version). Retrieved from https://www.kobo.com/

Schoppe-Sullivan, S., Cannon, E., Brown, G., Mangelsdorf, S., & Sokolowki, M. (2008). Maternal gatekeeping, coparenting quality, and fathering behavior in families with infants. *Journal of Family Psychology, 22,* 389-398.

Smith, D.E. (1987). *The everyday world a problematic: A feminist Sociology.* Boston: Northeaster University Press.

Smith, D.E. (2006). *Institutional ethnography as practice.* Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield.

Sunderland, J. (2006). 'Parenting' or 'mothering'? The case of modern childcare magazines. *Discourse & Society, 17,* 503-527.

Taylor, B., & de Vocht, H. (2011). Interviewing separately or as couples? Considerations of authenticity of method. *Qualitative Health Research, 21 (11),* 1576-1587.

Thomson, R. & Holland, J. (2003). Hindsight, foresight and insight: the challenge of longitudinal qualitative research. *Social Research Methodology, 6*, 233-244.

Tichenor, V. (2005). Maintaining men's dominance: Negotiating identity and power when she earns more. *Sex Roles, 53*, 191-205.

Townsend, N. (2002). *The package deal: Marriage, work and fatherhood in men's lives.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Vandello, J., Hettinger, V., Bosson, J., & Siddiqi, J. (2013). When equal isn't really equal: The masculine dilemma of seeking work flexibility. *Journal of Social Issues, 69*, 303-321.

Wall, G. & Arnold, S. (2007). How involved is involved fathering? An exploration of the contemporary culture of fatherhood. *Gender & Society, 21,* 508-527.

Williams, J. (2000). *Unbending gender: Why family and work conflict and what to do about it.* New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Yeung, W.J., Sandberg, J., Davis-Kean, P., & Hofferth, S. (2001). Children's time with father in intact families. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 63,* 136-154

PAPER THREE: MAKING THE INVISIBLE VISIBLE: ANALYTIC STRATEGY USING PRINCIPLES OF INSTITUTIONAL ETHNOGRAPHY AND QUALITATIVE LONGITUDINAL RESEARCH

> …when we examine the actual material organization of our everyday experience, we find that there are many aspects of how these things are and come about of which we have very little, as sociologists, to say. We do not even know how to begin. We have a sense that the events entering our experience originate somewhere in a human intention, but we are unable to track back to find it and to find out how it became and how it got from there to here (Smith, 1987, p.87).

Many researchers have studied work-family integration during the transition to parenthood. These researchers have documented a consistent pattern in which traditional gender roles emerge in regard to participation in paid and family work (Ravanera, Beaujot, & Liu, 2009; Shirani, Henwood, & Coltart, 2012), even in couples that had more egalitarian roles before the birth of a child (Fox, 2009; Katz-Wise, Priess, & Hyde, 2010). The origin of this change in families upon parenthood is somewhat perplexing, in that it occurs against a backdrop of a contemporary ideological and social environment that seems to be characterized, in part, by an ideal of equivalence of mothering and fathering roles. Genderless parenting ideologies such as co-parenting and involved fatherhood ideals (LaRossa, 1998; Pleck & Pleck, 1997) seem dominant. In addition, there have been significant, broad societal shifts towards gender equality, such as the increasing involvement of women, including mothers, in the labour force in recent decades and a rise in the number of dual-earner families with young children (Statistics Canada, 2016). Yet, during the transition to parenthood, many mothers become drawn into gendered social relations and work-family integration strategies that seem to run counter to these ideological and social shifts.

A critical gap in the work-family literature exists related to understanding of the processes by which mothers strategize about work-family integration in their ideological and social contexts (Bianchi & Milkie, 2010; Blair-Loy, 2010; Grzywacz, & Demerouti, 2013), and the ways in which these processes so often lead to creation of traditional gender division of paid work and family work. In this paper, I outline a novel analytical strategy, which is a methodological contribution aimed at filling this gap in the work-family literature about the work that mothers do in relation to strategizing about work-family integration. The analytical strategy was designed to uncover the processes -- perplexing to both parents and researchers -- by which women are drawn into traditional gender roles during the transition to parenthood. The analytical strategy integrates selected key principles of institutional ethnography (IE) and of qualitative longitudinal research (QLR) and contributes to the growing body of literature regarding IE and QLR data analytics. It is also an approach to data analysis that can lead to an understanding of the social processes that coordinate individual behavior during pivotal transitions in the life course, such as the transition to parenthood.

I begin this paper with a brief description of a case study for which the analytical strategy described in this paper was developed, a study of women's strategizing about work-family integration during their transition to parenthood. Since my primary focus in this paper is to outline my strategy for data analysis, I will only briefly discuss the case study. This is followed by a short overview of IE and then an overview of synergies between IE and QLR. I then describe the key principles underlying my strategy for data analysis and illustrate the approach using the case study. I conclude with a discussion of the contributions that this analytical strategy makes to enabling the study of transitions in the life course that are associated with significant changes in social relations, such as the transition to parenthood. I also discuss the methodological

implications of my analytical strategy as a broader contribution to the literature about IE and QLR.

Background: Case Study and Literature

Case Study Description

The study that will be used to illustrate my data analysis strategy was a longitudinal study of women's strategizing about work-family integration. The study explored the experiences of first-time parenthood in 17 families and the influences of gender, culture, ideology, policy, and social support, including intergenerational support, on their experiences. Parents were interviewed about their expectations and experiences of motherhood and fatherhood; about their expectations and experiences of social and policy support in their new roles as parents; and about their day-to-day work as parents and workers navigating the work-family interface. In this paper, I discuss an analytical strategy developed for delineating the longitudinal process of work-family integration strategizing by mothers. As data for this study, I used descriptions by both mothers and their partners of the mothers' processes of strategizing about work-family integration.

At the first time point of the study, all mothers were first-time expectant parents residing in the Western Canadian city in which the study took place. Interviews occurred at multiple points in time, spanning approximately five years, from the time the participants were expecting their first child, until the time that that child was preschool age. Families were interviewed first in 2007 when expecting their first child; at approximately, four to six months post-partum; at 15 to18 months post-partum, and again in 2011, when the families' eldest child was 4-5 years of

age. The study sample was socioeconomically and culturally diverse[7] and at least one member of each of the couples was employed at the time of recruitment.

Institutional Ethnography

The analytical strategy that is the focus of this paper, and which will be illustrated utilizing the case study, is grounded in selected key principles of institutional ethnography (IE). IE, an approach to sociology developed by Canadian sociologist Dorothy Smith (Smith, 1987), focuses on delineating how individual experience and the social world come to be constructed in the ways that they are. Regarding the social world, Smith (2006) states that a "commitment to *discovering* 'how things are actually put together,' 'how it works'" (p.1) is a defining feature of IE. The ontology of IE is that social life, reality, is brought into being by individuals as they go about living their day-to-day lives. It is the coordinated activities of individuals that compose social processes and ultimately create social reality (Smith, 1987). Two principles of IE are foundational to the analytical strategy described in this paper, the coordinating power of discourse, and an expanded concept of work.

Coordination by ideological discourse. A foundational understanding in IE that informed the analytical strategy described in this paper, is that the day-to-day activities of individuals and their creation of the social world are coordinated by the relations of ruling. The relations of ruling are the "complex of organized practices, including government, law, business and financial management, professional organization, and educational institutions as well as the discourses in texts that interpenetrate the multiple sites of power" (Smith, 1987, p.3). The ruling relations accomplish the coordination of individual activity through their power to define culture, including dominant ideological discourse. According to Therborn (1980) the power of ideology

[7] Please see the two other papers in this dissertation for a more complete description of recruitment strategies, study sample, etc.

is that it coordinates an individual's understanding of the world and defines for us, " 'what exists'…, 'what is good'…[and], 'what is possible' …" (p.18). By controlling ideological discourse and defining the dominant ideas, images, and categories used by people to conceptualize, understand, and evaluate their decisions and actions, the ruling relations shape and control individual experience and organize social consciousness (Smith, 1987).

To understand the ways in which the social world is brought into being, Smith (1987) asserts that an IE must begin from the standpoint of individual experience. IE is a way of knowing, "that works from the actualities of people's everyday lives and experience to discover the social as it extends beyond experience" (Smith, 2005, Chpt. 1, "Women's Standpoint," para.3). This is an alternative to dominant approaches to sociology that begin the study of the social world with the theories, ideas, and concepts of the ruling relations. These concepts are not grounded in the particularities of individual experiences; consequently, the actualities of individual lives may fall outside of these concepts. The actual experience of individuals may be subordinated by the concepts of the ruling relations and disappear from view (Smith, 1987).

In an IE, individual experience is the entry point into the study of the social. This ensures that an account of the social world "does not subordinate the knowing subject to objectified forms of knowledge of society or political economy" (Smith, 2005, Chpt. 1, "Women's Standpoint," para.3). From a standpoint grounded in individual experience, the IE researcher then looks beyond that experience to uncover how it is shaped and organized by the ruling relations and their ideological discourses. The processes by which individual experiences are controlled by extra-local forces are not visible to individuals in their day-to-day lives but are present within their experiences (Smith, 1987).

Expanded concept of work. A second orienting concept from IE that guided the analytical strategy described in this paper and that ensured that the analysis was grounded in individual experience, was Smith's concept of work (1987, 2006). Smith conceptualizes work in an expanded way, beyond the activities that fall into the category of paid labour, to include all that "people do that requires some effort, that they mean to do, and that involves some acquired competence" (Smith, 1987, p.165). Smith's (1987, 2011) conceptualization of work recognizes the subjective experience of individuals and supports a holistic appreciation of their integral skills and activities as they go about their day-to-day lives. For example, work may include purposeful and skilled intellectual practices such as thinking, planning, and reasoning and emotional labour such as feeling emotions and regulating one's emotions (Brown, 2006).

Smith (1987) observed that much of the work people do to sustain the social world is largely invisible and unrecognized. Work that is necessary to enable men's and women's involvement in the paid work force, for example, such as driving to and from the workplace, buying groceries from which to prepare a lunch to eat at the workplace, and picking up and dropping off work clothes at the dry cleaners are often not thought of as work. They are, however, intentional activities requiring competence, time, and effort and are necessary to maintain the functioning of the economic system (Smith, 1987).

Synergies of Methods of Institutional Ethnography and Qualitative Longitudinal Research: The Value of Attention to Time in Institutional Ethnography

In the literature about IE, there is much discussion about the actions that are the basis of the creation and maintenance of the social world (Walby, 2007). These actions are partially defined by their temporal elements. The social is a historical accomplishment grounded in time and place and is an ongoing process of creation by individual actors (Smith, 1987).

Activation of ideological discourse occurs when individuals engage with the texts and images in which these discourses are embedded. Smith (2006) illustrated that the activation of texts is a process that consists of multiple steps that occur in sequence over time, "a course of action" (p.67). She defines a sequence of steps, the "act-text-act sequence" (p.67), that captures the motion of texts in the social world. The sequence includes the acts of reading and interpreting a text and then responding with an action that is coordinated and organized by the text.

According to Turner (2006), in IE, "…the analytical goal is to situate…[a] text back into the action in which it is produced, circulated, and read, and where it has consequences in time and space…The [analytical] work is to see …textual practices as temporally located in *sequences of action* that are happening, so that text is made present in a setting, and *occurs*" (p.140). Diamond (2006) stated that the "social in motion" (p.60), the "ongoing concerting of activities" (p.60), is an element of society that is difficult to capture in research but an aspect that is an essential dimension of the ontology of IE.

Despite the temporal nature of the coordination of people's actions by texts and the ideologies embedded within them, to my knowledge there has been limited discussion in the IE literature about how to capture the temporality of the process in the analysis stage of investigations. Analytical procedures from the QLR literature, in contrast, focus on understanding processes of change through time (Grossoehme, & Lipstein, 2016; Saldana, 2003; Thomson & Holland, 2003).

Saldana (2003), in illustration, developed a series of analytical questions that could guide a researcher through a process of QLR. The large amount of data that is collected in a longitudinal qualitative study can make it difficult to effectively capture all the forms of change that occur

over time. Saldana's questions were designed to assist with the potentially onerous analytic process of QLR; the questions are meant to keep researchers focused on the elements of the data that, if examined, would lead to a rich, nuanced understanding of processes of change over time. The central question in QLR data analytics is, according to Saldana (2003), "What changes through time?" (Chpt. 3, "Questions to Guide," para. 4). Additional analytical questions developed by Saldana are foundational to the analytical strategy described in this paper and will be discussed in conjunction with the description of the analytical strategy in a subsequent section of this paper.

Other researchers who have worked with longitudinal, qualitative data sets have also contributed strategies for explicating and understanding processes of change over time. In their longitudinal qualitative study of the transition to adulthood of a group of young people, Thomson and Holland (2003) found that it was necessary to look at their data in "two directions: cross-sectionally in order to identify discourses through which identities are constructed, and longitudinally at the development of a particular narrative over time" (p.236). The data were thematically analyzed cross-sectionally at each study time point, "in order to capture a particular moment in time, often highlighting biographically structured temporal themes…" (p.238). They also created a "case profile" for each study participant that chronicled the "changes and continuities in their narrative over time" (p.236). The researchers found their approach to data analysis extremely labour-intensive, but both dimensions of analysis were necessary to achieve a "coherent and nuanced understanding" (p.239) of their data set. Cross-sectional data analysis made it challenging to track "cases or even themes over time in a systematic way" and also made it difficult to maintain "the integrity of individual narratives, cutting data up into small chunks of text" (p.239). The inclusion of the narrative dimension addressed these challenges.

Grossoeheme and Lipstein (2016), also identified two approaches to analyzing longitudinal qualitative data. The first is a recurrent cross-sectional approach that they assert is useful when a researcher is interested in understanding thematic changes in an entire sample between two study time points, for example after implementation of a policy intervention. The analysis consists of thematic analysis at each study time point and then, in a second phase of analysis, differences and similarities between themes across study time points are examined.

Trajectory analysis is a second analytical approach that "focuses on changes over time for an individual or small group of individuals" (Grossoeheme & Lipstein, 2016, p.2). Grossoeheme and Lipstein (2016) have utilized an analytical approach for trajectory analysis that involved the creation of a matrix for each study participant. These matrices were used to record codes for each participant at each time point related to study themes. In this way, changes or continuities in individual experience related to study themes, for example, could be easily visualized. This stage of analysis was built upon by the creation of a second set of matrices focused on longitudinal analysis in which codes that captured changes in relation to study themes over time for each individual were recorded. One of the values of such an approach is that it can reveal aspects of individual experience that are not made visible using a cross-sectional method. Grossoeheme and Lipstein (2016), in illustration, discuss a study of decision-making related to chronic disease that was conducted by one of the authors. They observed that the factors that shaped individuals' decisions changed over time. Although, at a population level the factors that influenced decisions did not change, changes in the factors considered at an individual level varied over time. This finding would not have been visible in a recurrent cross-sectional analysis.

Grossoehme and Lipstein (2006) suggest that QLR analysis can occur using one of the two approaches that they described, the recurrent cross-sectional approach or trajectory analysis.

They also suggest that it would be possible to combine the two approaches in one study. Such a combined approach became a foundation of data analysis in the case study profiled in this paper. Informed by the work of QLR researchers, I developed an analytical strategy that consisted of both recurrent cross-sectional analysis and trajectory analysis to elucidate the longitudinal nature of coordination of individual behavior by dominant discourse and, using Smith's (1987) expanded concept of work, the longitudinal nature of work.

Description of Analytical Approach

The first stage of my analysis was a recurrent cross-sectional, thematic analysis (Grossoehme & Lipstein, 2016) in which I analyzed themes related to two foundational principles of IE, Smith's expanded concept of work, and the organizational properties of dominant ideological discourse. I then compared the themes at different time points (Grossoehme & Lipstein, 2016) to understand what remained constant and what changed between time points or between pools of data (Saldana, 2003). The underlying method of data analysis, the constant comparison method, was very similar to that used for qualitative studies that occur at one time point (Grossoehme & Lipstein, 2016). Because the constant comparison method has been the focus of many methodological papers (for example, see Boeije, 2002; Charmaz, 2006), I will not focus on it in the description of my overall approach to analysis.

Recurrent Cross-sectional Analysis of Work

In the recurrent cross-sectional analyses, Smith's (1987) expanded concept of work guided me to view as the core of my analysis all that women did to manage the paid work-family work interface. McCoy (2006) identifies questions that she uses to guide her analysis when conducting IE. These questions include the following:

> What is the work that these informants are describing or alluding to?

What does it involve for them?

What particular skills or knowledge seem to be required?

What are the troubles or successes that arise for people doing the work? (p.111)

These questions ground the analysis of the data from an IE in a thorough understanding of people's work. In the case study, interviewers asked women in their multiple interviews throughout the study duration to describe a typical day in their lives as they managed paid work and family work, the influences on their strategies for work-family integration, and the process by which these strategies emerged for them. Embedded in women's stories about strategizing about the work-family interface were work processes and practices that have not been well documented in the literature about mothers' decision-making related to paid work and family work. Despite their notable absence in the literature about work-family integration, the work processes and practices that mothers described in their interviews required much competence, skill, knowledge, time, emotional maturity, and effort. Through analysis of the work of work-family integration, I identified two subdomains of work: research and analysis; and experimental process.

Research and analysis. The mothers who participated in my study fulfilled a role and engaged in work processes related to strategizing about the paid work-family work interface that could have composed a job description for a professional position requiring years of academic education. Their work consisted of research and environmental scanning to build their knowledge of work-family integration options. They built their knowledge of available child care options and of available employment options, such as part-time work or alternative career options that would facilitate their new child care responsibilities. Mothers read parenting books

and magazines, talked to friends who were parents, and consulted government websites, for example, to build their information base. They then analyzed the options uncovered in their research to determine the best work-family integration strategy for their family. This involved a decision about child care and a decision about the mothers' paid work participation.

The stakes of the research and analysis phase of work were high. In illustration, one mother was not initially offered paid parental leave benefits from her employer, apart from the benefits covered by the employment insurance (EI) system in Canada. The EI benefit provides a replacement rate of 55% of previous insurable earnings up to a maximum threshold value for a total period of 50 weeks (HRSDC, 2005)[8]. The mother wanted to utilize the total parental leave provision of 50 weeks and to be at home for the first year of her infant's life, but she needed supplemental financial leave benefits from her employer in order to do so. She was the primary earner in her family at the time of her first baby's arrival. Without a financial "top up" from her employer during her period of maternity leave, her family would have experienced considerable financial stress. The mother researched and analyzed parental leave policies at other companies. Based on this analysis, she put together a proposal for her employer outlining a typical, fair

[8] In 2001, the total length of the parental leave provision in the federation of Canada increased from 10 to 35 weeks (HRSDC, 2005). When combined with the existing maternity leave period of 15 weeks, a total maximum period of leave of 50 weeks was established. Recently, in Budget 2017, The Canadian Government, included a proposed change to parental leave provisions in Canada. The budget includes a proposal that parents have an option to receive benefits for an extended period of time (up to 18 months) at a lower wage replacement rate (up to 33%) (Government of Canada, 2017).

In Alberta, the province in which this study takes place, parental leave provisions are a family benefit and parents choose how the benefits will be shared between them (Moss, 2012). Apart from in the province of Quebec, there is no paternity leave in Canada (Marshall, 2008).

parental leave financial supplement. Eventually, her employer accepted the proposal and provided her with "top-up" financial benefits during her leave. The mother had to do timely and skilled research and analysis in order to draft the proposal. Her employer's acceptance of her proposal was essential to the mother's enactment of her desired work-family integration approach.

Other mothers spoke of their work process for selecting a child care centre. In their research, they found there were long waiting lists for high-quality centres. In order to secure a place in a centre for their children, they were required to get on the waiting lists even before the children were born. A child's attendance at a high-quality child care centre was, therefore, dependent upon mothers performing their research well and in a timely fashion.

Experimental process. Mothers also exhibited a significant capacity to perform active experimentation in the realm of work-family integration. Mothers would implement a work-family integration strategy informed by their research and analysis of options, a strategy that consisted of a paid work and a child care arrangement. They would then gather data enabling them to determine the degree of success of the arrangement they implemented. Mothers interpreted the data in order to draw an evidence-based conclusion about whether they should maintain their current work-family integration strategy or alternatively, research and implement a new one. Data consisted, for example, of information about their child's experiences in their child care arrangements or information about the mothers' experiences of their paid work arrangements. Relevant data in mothers' evaluations of the success of their work-family integration strategies included whether the mothers' paid work was fulfilling and their relative degree of stress or enjoyment related to managing both the work of their household and their paid work. In their strategizing about work-family integration involving research and

experimentation, women were performing work not unlike that of research scientists implementing the scientific method.

In illustration, Balani, a married mother in her early 30's, experimented with a complicated and exhausting child care and paid work arrangement. In her early interviews, Balani spoke of wanting to set a good example for her baby by having a career. She also shared that she and her husband did not trust nonparental child care. Balani spoke about researching and analyzing possible work-family integration options that would align with her values and preferences. After analyzing her options, Balani implemented a work-family integration strategy in which she worked alternating shifts with her husband. Balani worked part-time on the night shift and her husband worked a full-time day shift. She provided child care at home during the day while her child was awake and her husband was at home at night while the child was sleeping.

In her final interview when her first child was preschool-age, Balani was preparing to return to work after a period of parental leave following the birth of her second baby. Throughout her interview, she reflected on the difficulty she had experienced in managing her paid work and child care arrangement prior to beginning her parental leave. She was often exhausted because her work-family integration arrangement meant that she was left with little time in her schedule for sleeping. Often, she was able to sleep only two to three hours after coming home from the night shift and before beginning to care for her baby during the day.

She shared the following about the process of experimentation that she would apply to the alternating shifts arrangement she would again be implementing after her return to her paid work when her second parental leave ended:

> And, uh, we did that already when I had my first baby, because I started working when she was one year, so I work nights also and it's, it, it went out well I, it worked, I managed it,

> I'm, but this time [with two children] so we will, we will find out if it's, if I still can manage everything …So if NOT, then I will, I will lessen my hours maybe.

Balani, like the majority of the women in the study, approached work-family integration as a process of experimentation. All arrangements were provisional and maintained only if the "data" they collected about their work-family integration arrangements suggested that the arrangements were successful. Balani was prepared to further decrease her hours of paid work if required.

Changes in the nature of work across study time points. The transition to parenthood appears to draw many women into a new set of social relations, often characterized by the development of traditional gender roles. I speculated that this happened over time, through a longitudinal process of change and that this would be reflected in changes in the nature of women's work related to paid work-family work integration at different time points. Accordingly, in my cross-sectional thematic analysis, I compared women's "work" related to paid work-family work strategizing at each time point.

Drawing on the QLR literature focused on analysis of change over time, I outlined analytical questions that would tune me into the changing nature of work at each study time point. My analytical questions were informed, in particular, by Saldana (2003). I integrated some of Saldana's analytical questions developed for QLR with the key analytical questions about work developed by McCoy (2006) for IE. This integration resulted in creation of a series of analytical questions that would help me keep my analysis grounded in the changing work of mothers' strategizing at the paid work-family work interface. The first two columns in Table 3 contain the analytical questions by McCoy (2006) and Saldana (2003) that informed my guiding

questions. In the final column of the table, I identify the longitudinally focused questions about work that I developed specifically for my analytical strategy:

Table 3: Analytical Questions Adapted from IE and QLR and Unique Guiding Questions About Work

McCoy (2006) (IE)	Saldana (2003) (QLR)	My guiding questions
"What is the work that these informants are describing or alluding to?" (p.111)	"What changes through time?" (Chpt. 3, "Questions to Guide," para. 4)	How does the work of mothers' change through time?
"What does it involve for them?" (p.111)	"What is missing through time?" (Chpt. 3, Descriptive Questions section) "What decreases or ceases through time?" (Chpt. 3, Descriptive Questions section)	What is missing over time in relation to mothers' work at the work-family interface?
		What aspects of mothers' work decrease or cease through time?
"What particular skills or knowledge seem to be required?" (p.111)		
"What are the troubles or successes that arise for people doing this work?" (p.111)		How do the troubles or successes experienced by mothers change the nature of their work related to paid work-family work integration?

The results of applying the unique analytical questions were fruitful. The results were the beginning of identification of the factors that defined two alternative paid work-family work integration trajectories, the washing machine pathway and the career maintenance pathway. I

learned that for some women (those that in the subsequent trajectory analysis were confirmed to be on the career maintenance pathway), the work they performed related to paid work-family work integration changed substantially after they completed one early period of research, analysis, and selection of a core work-family integration strategy. This core strategy was implemented after their return to paid work upon the completion of their first parental leave. The core strategy then remained in place, in contrast to the early strategies of women who were later identified in the trajectory analysis to be on the washing machine pathway, who often made substantial changes in their work-family integration strategies over time.

The accounts of paid work-family work integration in later interviews for the mothers on the career maintenance pathway differed from those of the women on the washing machine pathway. The stories of women on the career maintenance pathway shifted from being focused on the work of research, analysis, and experimentation regarding paid work-family work integration strategies to instead being focused on the physical and mental tasks required to maintain their chosen, stable work-family integration strategy and their family routine. For example, the final interview with Sarah, one of the two mothers who followed the career maintenance pathway, was characterized by her detailed descriptions of work related to maintaining the family's daily schedule. Sarah utilized the same nonparental care arrangement throughout the study period. The description of work that dominated her final interview included maintaining a routine of preparing her children's lunches every night, picking her children up at child care at a regular time, and maintaining communication lines with her child care provider.

The women on the washing machine pathway, in contrast to Sarah, often experienced significant changes in their work-family integration approaches over the course of the study. These changes, however, were driven by consistent work practices and processes at each study

time point that consisted of ongoing research, analysis, and experimentation. In the recurrent cross-sectional analysis, I confirmed that, in contrast to women who followed the career maintenance trajectory, research, analysis, and experimentation were key elements of women's stories at all time points when they followed the washing machine pathway.

The recurrent cross-sectional analysis began to reveal some underlying features of the process that shaped the nature of women's work related to strategizing about paid work-family work integration over time. Although the core aspects of most women's work of researching, analyzing, and experimenting seemed to remain constant, as I compared this work across time points, I began to see that women would move through iterative cycles of research, analysis, and experimentation until they had settled on a work-family integration strategy that was in alignment with intensive motherhood ideology. The strategies that were eventually settled on after cycles of experimentation were characterized by the centrality of the mothers' places in the families' child care arrangements and -- if mothers maintained paid work involvement -- by paid work involvement that was flexible and peripheral to their child care responsibility.

Recurrent Cross-Sectional Analysis of the Coordinating Power of Discourse

To gain additional understanding of the process of developing women's paid work-family work strategies over time, I conducted a thematic analysis of the data at each time point, utilizing the orienting concept of discourse. As with the concept of work, I drew on both the IE and QLR literature. As well, my analysis was guided by an analytical question for IE developed by McCoy (2006) and an analytical question for QLR developed by Saldana (2003). I again integrated these questions to create a guiding question that would keep me attuned to the longitudinal nature of coordination of women's work by institutional discourse. These questions are identified in Table 4.

Table 4: Analytical Questions Adapted from IE and QLR and Unique Guiding Questions About Discourse

McCoy (2006) (IE)	Saldana (2003) (QLR)	Guiding questions for this study
"How is the work articulated to institutional work processes and the institutional order?" (p.111)	"What are participant or conceptual rhythms (phases, stages, cycles, and so on) through time?" (Chpt. 3, "Analytic and Interpretive," para.1)	How are the rhythms/stages of women's work related to paid work-family work integration controlled by/shaped by the institutional order and its discourses?

I utilized these questions for a recurrent cross-sectional analysis that compared the ways experience was coordinated by dominant ideological discourse at each time point and between time points. According to Smith (2005), "Experience must be spoken or written to come into being; it doesn't exist as an authentic representation of reality before its entry into language; hence, it is already discursively determined by the discourse in which it is spoken" (Chpt. 6, "Experience as Dialogue," para.5). Consequently, to understand the nature of experience and the coordination of individual experience by the ruling relations, it is necessary to be knowledgeable about the discourses of the institution. I examined accounts of mothers' work-family integration strategies found in the mainstream media, in parenting manuals, and in academic studies and identified the dominant discourses in these sources. I asked of these documents, "What notions of 'truth' about work-family integration by mothers are embedded in mainstream media and in the literature?" (Question adapted from Griffith, 2006).

Motherhood and fatherhood ideologies. The analysis of sources indicated that the ideological discourse that shapes and coordinates mothers' work-family choices is fraught with contradictions (Freeman, 2002). On the one hand, many researchers have identified as dominant an ideological construct of the involved father who is equal with his wife in his responsibility for and involvement with their children (Freeman, 2002; Pleck & Pleck, 1997). The shift to a co-parent ideal has been described as being one of the most significant changes in the ideological realm of parenting (Pleck & Pleck, 1997). Some researchers assert, however, that despite a commonly held belief that the dominant ideology about mothers and fathers is shifting towards this genderless parent ideal, dominant representations of fathers actually persist in depicting fathers as secondary, less competent parents relative to mothers (Sunderland, 2006; Wall & Arnold, 2007). Although the gender-neutral terms "parent" and "parenting" are often used in print media, the actual ideological representations of motherhood and fatherhood seem to have retained relatively persistent gendered distinctions.

The dominant ideology of motherhood, intensive motherhood (Hays, 1996), also seems to provide support for the assertion that the genderless parent ideal is more cultural myth than reality. Intensive motherhood ideology is defined by an understanding that the practice of mothering should be "child-centred, expert-guided, emotionally absorbing, labour-intensive, and financially expensive" (Hays, 1996, p.54). Good mothers are unfailingly and selflessly devoted to meeting the needs of their children, and mothers (not fathers) ultimately bear responsibility for the care of children.

Other historically significant ideals are also present in mothers' ideological environment, including the breadwinner father. This ideal is associated with a belief that the primary and most

important role of fathers is economic provision for their families (Freeman, 2002; LaRossa, 1997; Pleck & Pleck, 1997).

Good worker ideal. There is an incongruity between dominant motherhood and worker ideologies. According to Johnston and Swanson (2003), "the *good professional* is constructed as promoting self, demonstrating independence, lacking in natural mothering qualities, and fulfilling her potential in the public sphere" (p. 245). According to Williams (2000) the ideal worker is an individual, usually a male, with no household or child care responsibilities, completely devoted to his job and able to put in long hours in the workplace. The good worker ideal and dominant motherhood ideology are at odds with one another and apparently mutually exclusive. In this way, the two ideals create a double bind for mothers (Johnston & Swanson, 2003). The ideologies suggest that to be successful as a mother will mean failing as a worker and vice versa. On the other hand, the good worker ideal dovetails with the breadwinner ideology of fatherhood.

Framework of free choice. Also significant in the ideological landscape is a model of individual agency, called disjoint agency, which dominates culture in North America and Europe (Markus & Kitayama, 2003). Disjoint agency is the belief that "normatively good actions originate in an *independent*, autonomous self, and the actions of this self are disjoint, that is, in some ways separate or distinct from the actions of others" (Markus & Kitayama, 2003, p.2). In this model, good actions are "the results of the individual's own desires, goals, intentions, or choices" (p.7).

This model is an understanding of individual agency that is reflected in neoliberalism, an ideology that has been the basis of governance in Western countries in recent decades (Chen,

2013). Smith (2005) identifies neoliberalism as a metadiscourse that overlays, informs, and regulates the discourses of specific contexts. Neoliberalism is associated with an understanding that ensuring human welfare is better accomplished through the market than through the welfare state. The defining facets of the market, "competition, economic efficiency, and choice" (Larner, 2000, p.5), are thought to make it superior to the state as a way of supporting human well-being.

The concept of individual choice is central to cultures in which neoliberalism and a disjoint model of agency predominate. Social reality is assumed to be defined by an array of possible choices, and individuals are presumed to exist in the world primarily as choosers whose primary function in society is to take action based on their individual preferences, desires, and personal goals. This framework is internalized by individuals in their "ways of thinking, feeling, and acting" (Markus & Kitayama, 2003, p.19), and is embedded in the ruling relations. In the neoliberalist discourse, the concept of choice is paramount and "refers to one's ability to choose maximum material gain and profit in order to construct one's own self, and agency now means the ability to be active in this materialistic, profitable self-actualizing project" (Chen, 2013, p.4). Instances of inequality or other social problems are interpreted through this lens as being the result of poor individual choices, rather than as issues of structural inequality that need to be addressed at a societal level (Chen, 2013).

Researchers have demonstrated the penetration of this framework into the work-family realm. They have shown that when mothers experience difficulties with work-family integration they are interpreted both societally (Hochschild, 1989) and by mothers themselves as the result of mothers' poor choices and individual failures (Weight, 2006). Mothers also frequently use the framework of individual agency and autonomous choice to explain their decisions to curtail participation in the labour force (Stephens & Levine, 2011).

The disappearance of mothers' work. Pervading the popular media during the course of my study was a discussion about women's opting out of the workforce (for example, Belkin, October 26, 2003). Embedded within this discussion were two threads of dominant discourse: the ideology of neoliberalism and the related concept of free choice, and the ideology of intensive motherhood. Mothers' leaving the labour force was primarily portrayed as their exercise of free choice. The choice to withdraw from paid work was framed as stemming from their nature and preferences. Leaving the paid workforce was portrayed as an opportunity to leave the competitive, stressful labour market behind and focus entirely on fulfilling their most natural and most rewarding role as nurturer, or in other words, as an intensive mother.

This popular media account of strategizing about the work-family interface seemed to contrast with the experience of the women participating in my study. Yet no discourse was easily available that the women could use to talk about their experience in their interviews. They struggled to talk about it in language other than that of choice-making or decision-making, as did I when conducting my analysis. I saw how the discourse of choice made it very difficult for women to accurately articulate their process of strategizing at the work-family interface.

De Vault (1999) explained that:

> …the lack of fit between women's lives and the words available for talking about experience present real difficulties for ordinary women's self-expression in their everyday lives. If words often do not quite fit, then women who want to talk of their experiences must "translate," either saying things that are not quite right, or working at using the language in nonstandard ways (p.61).

Awareness of the ideological discourses pervading women's accounts of their experiences was critical to my understanding of the social relations of paid work-family work integration. I

became sensitive to the limitations of those discourses and to the way they hid the real work that women did to strategize about paid work and family work. I became aware of how categories such as "free choice" and "choice-making" that were defined by dominant discourse did not correspond well to the experiences of participants as they managed the paid work-family work interface. What disappeared was the skilled work of research, analysis, and experimentation that women were doing at the paid work-family work interface.

Ideological discourse and the simple, clean concept of "choice" also hid the struggles that occurred as women experimented with paid work-family work integration strategies. For example, Balani, who worked part-time night shifts and provided stay-at-home mother care for her child during the day, spoke about her physical exhaustion due to lack of sleep time resulting from her work-family integration strategy. She shared the following reflection on her experience. Embedded within her description of her experience is the discourse of individual choice:

> And it, I find it is. {chuckles} So that's my challenge. Because I choose to work. This is my choice. So I need to - to stand for it. {laughs} But uh sometimes uh I feel that I want to give up. Sometimes. Because it's tiring, I want to sleep more. I don't want to go to work today.

Exhaustion was not an uncommon struggle among mothers who were experimenting with paid work-family work integration alternatives. Other mothers experienced different types of struggles such as profound loss as they enacted strategies that consisted of quitting or significantly altering their level of participation in rewarding and meaningful paid work positions. For example, Hannah, who had been extremely devoted to and fulfilled by her paid work, experienced a profound loss of career satisfaction when she became a part-time employee to spend time at home with her children and limit the amount of time that they spent in non-

parental child care. Other mothers experienced judgement from others as they delayed their careers in order to stay at home and provide care for their children. These struggles and the skilled work of women strategizing about work-family integration are hidden from view when the language of choice-making is all that is available to describe women's experience managing the paid work-family work boundary.

I have come to see as a strength of my research the fact that it has begun to explore an "incompletely articulated aspect of women's experiences" (De Vault, 1999, p.65). De Vault (1999) suggests that as feminist researchers it becomes important to look for those aspects of women's experience that become hidden because they do not fit into the conceptual categories of dominant discourse. She states that "researchers must develop methods for listening around and beyond words" (p.66).

My guiding questions about coordination by discourse and the institutional order were a critical component of an analytical strategy that kept me sensitive to opportunities to observe elements of women's experiences that were hidden because they weren't captured by the categories of dominant discourse. As I will now explain, my analytical strategy also enabled me to see the key role that the subordination of women's experience to institutional ideological discourse played in drawing many of them into a longitudinal process of coordination by the ruling relations.

Trajectory Analysis, Ideological Hooks, and the Homogenizing Effects of Ideological Discourse

A second phase of my analysis involved a trajectory analysis in which I created timelines for each individual mother. On the timelines, work-family integration strategies at each time point were recorded, as were descriptions of the factors that mothers and their partners had

identified as leading to particular work-family integration strategies at each time point. Because the timelines included the participants' "final" work-family integration strategies, I could also look back in time at the sequence of hooks that composed each woman's trajectory of strategizing about paid work-family work integration to determine "how" -- the processes by which -- they ended up where they did. The timelines enabled me to see consistencies in the longitudinal process of individual strategizing about work-family integration. I began to see patterns in the ways that the hooks of dominant ideologies functioned over time to organize and reorganize (Smith, Mykhalowskiy, & Weatherbee, 2006) the work that women did at the work-family interface.

By comparing the timelines of individual mothers, I was able to identify two summative trajectories or alternate processes of work-family integration. These trajectories were partially defined by different orientations to dominant discourses, which hooked women into different temporally organized processes of strategizing about work-family integration. One trajectory, the washing machine pathway, hooked women into the traditional gender order. The second trajectory, the career maintenance pathway, did not. Figure 1 (p.98) demonstrates the two trajectories of paid work-family work integration identified in my study.

For the majority of the women, the women on the washing machine pathway, social organization occurred in a cyclical, iterative process, very similar to the iterative cycles of investigation that can occur using the scientific method. The women's cycles of work-family integration strategizing can be viewed as iterative cycles of coordination that built on each other until women exhibited alignment with dominant ideology in their work-family integration strategies. Women on the washing machine pathway performed the work of scientists experimenting with alternative work-family integration strategies. An essential part of this work

was interpreting data consisting of the information women gathered about how particular work-family integration strategies were working for them or for their families. This information was collected in order to determine if a work-family integration strategy was successful and should be maintained, or was not effective and needed to be changed.

Women on the washing machine pathway utilized dominant ideological discourse to interpret the data they were gathering about their work-family integration strategies. Interpretation through the lens of intensive motherhood ideology and individual choice ideology resulted in women iteratively changing their work-family integration strategies so they were in greater alignment with these ideologies over time.

In illustration, Paige experimented early in her transition to parenthood with casual employment. When she was at her paid work, her child was in the care of her husband, but both her husband and the child found the arrangement unsatisfactory. Paige describes the results of the work-family integration experiment and her son's reaction to it as follows:

> He was very very upset and he was probably about 1 ½ years old when I started to try to go back to work and it was just very very stressful for both my husband and I because he was not happy to be away from me. So we decided that I would stop the casual employment and we would make a decision about my long-term employment the following year. Our decision was that I would not return to work.

Patrick, Paige's partner, describes the results of the work-family integration strategy in a similar way. He shares the following reflection on the experiment with Paige's casual employment and her eventual decision to not return to paid work:

> …the decision I thought was quite easy and just look at what it did for our son. He is very attached to Paige and he was crying and he was okay for an hour or so with just me and him but he just wanted to know where his mom was and like. So after seeing him being

> upset for a couple of times, we just talked about it together and it was fairly easy just like to us it was not worth Paige going back. Financially it helped but it was more like we were thinking about putting him in a daycare. That is kind of where it came about and Paige would go back. First we are going to try just me being at home with him and that's where it should have started but I could see the effect of what happened with me being with him, he was quite upset but we thought like if he goes to a child care center he will be even more upset because he will not know those people right away and we didn't want him to be like that.

Paige and Patrick's story makes it apparent that they interpreted their child's difficulty with child care through the lens of dominant ideological discourse. Problems their child was having adjusting to child care providers other than Paige were interpreted first through an understanding that these difficulties were data indicating that the child needed his mother to care for him. This was where Paige became hooked into intensive motherhood ideology.

These difficulties were also interpreted through the lens of individual choice. Paige was hooked into individual choice ideology when both Paige and Patrick interpreted the family's struggles with their paid work-family work situation by assuming that Paige needed to make a different choice related to paid work-family work integration. Stemming from this interpretation of the data, through the lens of intensive motherhood and individual choice ideology, the only thing for Paige to do was to make a "choice" to leave her paid employment and provide stay-at-home parent care for her child.

A key finding that became apparent from the trajectory analysis, was that it was in the moments of interpretation of the data regarding the success or failure of provisional paid work-family work integration strategies that discourse exerted its homogenizing effects. If a family was struggling to adjust to a work-family integration strategy, by interpreting these challenges through the lens of individual choice and intensive motherhood ideology, the only logical option

was the mother making a different choice that involved reducing her paid employment and increasing time spent caring for her children.

Over time, this meant that mothers who had started out on their journey to parenthood intending to combine paid work participation and involvement in child care, began to practice work-family integration in a way that looked similar or identical to the strategies that were enacted by the one mother in my study who identified a preference prior to the arrival of her infant for staying home fulltime to care for the baby. Despite women's initial preferences to combine paid work and child care work, the process of interpreting challenges with work-family integration through the lens of dominant ideology resulted in homogenization. The mothers' work-family integration strategies aligned with traditional gender ideology over time. In short, if any and all work-family integration challenges are interpreted through the lens of intensive motherhood ideology and individual choice ideology and are taken as indications that a mother must make a different work-family integration choice, a choice to cut back on paid work and increase time in child care, then eventually most women will come out of the experimentation process with highly similar work-family integration strategies.

In contrast, the story of Sarah, one of the two mothers on the career maintenance pathway, demonstrates that different interpretations of the "data" lead to avoidance of hooking into the ideology of intensive motherhood and individual choice. Sarah's son, like Paige's son, experienced difficulties adjusting to nonparental child care when Sarah returned to paid work after her first parental leave. Sarah, however, interpreted her son's unease as he adjusted to attending nonparental child care as a natural and temporary transition during a period of change. Unlike the mothers on the washing machine pathway, she did not interpret a challenge with her family work-family integration choice as a reason to cut back on her paid employment.

Remarking on her choice to continue with her full-time paid employment, Sarah said, "You know, so we decided right away that we would both work full-time, you know, and the kids would have to adapt to that." And it seemed that her children did adapt to their nonparental care. Both Scott and Sarah remarked in their final interviews that their children's development was enhanced by their child care experiences. This alternative interpretation of the data was the key to resistance of the hooks of dominant ideologies.

Discussion

The data analysis strategy outlined in this paper was developed to lead to understanding of the longitudinal process of strategizing that mothers used to make decisions about work-family integration during their transition to parenthood. The strategy was also designed to illuminate the social coordination of this process of work-family integration by the ruling relations and institutional ideological discourse.

I found the strategy to be a useful tool for filling gaps in the work-family literature related to the processes by which parents strategize and make decisions about work-family integration in context (Bianchi & Milkie, 2010; Grzywacz, & Demerouti, 2013). I also found that the strategy was a tool for illuminating aspects of the ideological environment to which mothers orient their work-family integration approaches. Finally, as a contribution to the small and developing body of literature about data analysis in IE, my analytical strategy integrates analytical principles defined in the IE and QLR literature to enable a rigorous and systematic elucidation of the process of unfolding social relations over time during life course transitions.

Work-Family Integration is a Process of Strategizing in Context

A number of researchers have identified a need for studies that prospectively investigate the ways individuals strategize in response to work-family conflict within the constraints and

opportunities of their context. The absence of methodological approaches and research designs that capture the processes that underlie work-family experiences and decisions has been identified as a gap in the work-family literature (Bianchi & Milkie, 2010; Grzywacz & Demerouti, 2013; Greenhaus & Parasuraman, 1999). My analytical strategy was developed in order to create a set of tools that would enable me to make contributions to the filling of this gap. The method was designed with the goal of being able to make the process of work-family integration visible. It is a method that leads to the creation of a "map" of the processes of strategizing, a map that shows the way that individual mothers "take up" their ideological context.

Working from the literature about QLR, I combined elements of analytical techniques designed to capture change over time with best practices for IE data analytics. Since IE is focused on the elucidation of a process, a process of the unfolding of social relations, drawing on the strengths of approaches to QLR helped me to build a rigorous and systematic approach to analysis in IE.

Without the longitudinal element of my analytical strategy and the opportunity to view work-family integration through the lens of time, I would not have been able to delineate the iterative and cumulative nature of work-family integration strategizing that occurred for the majority of mothers in the study. Cross-sectional analysis at each time point created a relatively stable picture of work processes and key influences on work-family integration strategizing. It was only through the trajectory analysis and lens of time that the two trajectories and their defining features became clearly visible. In conclusion, the analytical strategy adds to the scant literature about data analytics in IE and is a useful approach to building understanding of the unfolding of social relations during life course transitions, such as the transition to parenthood.

References

Belkin, L. (2003, October 26). The opt-out revolution. *New York Times Magazine.* Retrieved from http://www.nytimes.com/2003/10/26/magazine/the-opt-out-revolution.html

Bianchi, S., & Milkie, M. (2010). Work and family research in the first decade of the 21st century. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 72,* 705-725.

Blair-Loy, M. (2010). Moral dimension of the work-family nexus. In S. Hitlin & S. Vaisey (Eds.), *Handbook of the sociology of morality* (pp.439-453). New York: Springer.

Boeijie, H. (2002). A purposeful approach to the constant comparative method in the analysis of qualitative interviews. *Quality & Quantity, 36,* 391-409.

Brown, D. (2006). Working the system: Re-thinking the institutionally organized role of mothers and the reduction of "risk" in child protection work. *Social Problems, 53*, 352-370.

Charmaz, K. (2006). *Constructing grounded theory: A practical guide through qualitative analysis.* London: Sage Publications, Ltd.

Chen, E. (2013). Neoliberalism and popular women's culture: Rethinking choice, freedom and agency. *European Journal of Cultural Studies, 0,* 1-13. doi: 10.1177/1367549413484297

DeVault, M.L. (1999). *Liberating method: Feminism and social research.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Diamond, T. (2006). “Where did you get the fur coat, Fern?” Participant observation in institutional ethnography. In D.E. Smith (Ed.), *Institutional ethnography as practice* (pp. 45-63). Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Fox, B. (2009). *When couples become parents: The creation of gender in the transition to parenthood.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Freeman, T. (2003). Loving father or deadbeat Dads: The crisis of fatherhood in popular culture. In S. Earle & G. Letherby (Eds.). *Gender, Identity & Reproduction* (pp. 33-49). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Government of Canada (2017). *Budget 2017: Building a strong middle class.* Retrieved from Government of Canada website: http://www.budget.gc.ca/2017/docs/plan/chap-01-en.html#Toc477707320

Greenhaus, J. H., & Parasuraman, S. (1999). Research on work, family, and gender: Current status and future directions. In G. N. Powell (Ed.), *Handbook of gender and work* (pp. 391-412). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Griffith, A. (2006). Constructing single parent families for schooling: Discovering an institutional discourse. In D.E. Smith (Ed.), *Institutional ethnography as practice* (pp. 127-138). Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Grossoehme, D. & Lipstein, E. (2016). Analyzing longitudinal qualitative data: the application of trajectory and recurrent cross-sectional approaches. BMC Research Notes 9, 136. DOI 10.1186/s13104-016-1954-1

Grzywacz, J. & Demerouti, E. (2013). *New frontiers in work and family research.* New York: Psychology Press.

Hays. S. (1996). *The cultural contradictions of motherhood.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Hochschild, A. (1989). *The second shift: Working parents and the revolution at home.* New York: Penguin Books.

HRSDC (2005). *Summative evaluation of EI parental benefits.* (Statistics Canada Catalogue No. HS28-25/2005E). Retrieved from: http://publications.gc.ca/collections/collection_2008/hrsdc-rhdsc/HS28-25-2005E.pdf

Johnston, D., & Swanson, D. (2003). Undermining mothers. A content analysis of the representation of mothers in magazines. *Mass Communication & Society, 6,* 243-265.

Katz-Wise, S., Priess, H., & Hyde, J. (2010). Gender role attitudes and behavior across the transition to parenthood. *Developmental Psychology, 46,* 18-28.

Larner, W. (2000). Neoliberalism: Policy, ideology, governmentality. *Studies in Political Economy, 63,* 5-25.

LaRossa, R. (1997). *The modernization of fatherhood: A social and political history.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Markus, H., & Kitayama, S. (2003). Models of agency: Sociocultural diversity in the construction of action. In V. Murphy-Berman & J. Berman (Eds.), *Cross-cultural differences in perspectives of the self* (Vol. 49, Nebraska Symposium on Motivation) (pp.1-58). Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Marshall, (2008). *Perspectives: Fathers' use of paid parental leave.* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 75-001-X). Retrieved from http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/75-001-x/2008106/pdf/10639-eng.pdf

McCoy, L. (2006). Keeping the institution in view: Working with interview accounts of everyday experience. In D.E. Smith (Ed.), *Institutional ethnography as practice* (pp. 109-125). Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Moss, P. (2012). (Ed.) International review of leave policies and related research 2012. *International Network on Leave Policies and Research.* London: Institute of Education, University of London.

Pleck, E. & Pleck, J. (1997). Fatherhood ideals in the United States: Historical dimensions. In Lamb, M (Ed.), *The role of the father in child development* (pp.33-48). New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

Ravanera, Z., Beaujot, R., & Liu, J. (2009). Models of earning and caring: Determinants of the division of work. *Canadian Sociological Association, 46,* 319-337.

http://ir.lib.uwo.ca/pclc/vol3/iss3/2/

Saldana, J. (2003). *Qualitative longitudinal research: Analyzing change through time.* (Kobo Version). Retrieved from https://www.kobo.com/

Shirani, F., Henwood, K. & Coltart, C. (2012). Meeting the challenges of intensive parenting culture: Gender, risk management and the moral parent. *Sociology, 46,* 25-40.

Smith, D.E. (1987). *The everyday world a problematic: A feminist Sociology.* Boston: Northeaster University Press.

Smith, D.E. (2005). *Institutional ethnography: A sociology for people.* [Kobo Version]. Retrieved from https://www.kobo.com/

Smith, D.E. (2006). *Institutional ethnography as practice.* Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Smith, D.E. (2011). Making sense of what people do: A sociological perspective. *Journal of Occupational Science, 10,* 61-64.

Smith, G., Mykhalovskiy, E. & Weatherbee, D. (2006). Getting "hooked up": An organizational study of the problems people with HIV/AIDS have accessing social services. In D.E. Smith (Ed.), *Institutional ethnography as practice* (pp.166-179). Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Statistics Canada (May 30, 2016). *The rise of the dual earner family with children.* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 11-630-X). Retrieved from Statistics Canada website: http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/11-630-x/11-630-x2016005-eng.htm

Stephens, N., & Levine, C. (2011). Opting out or denying discrimination: How the framework of free choice in American society influences perceptions of gender inequality. *Psychological Science, 22,* 1231-1236.

Sunderland, J. (2006). 'Parenting' or 'mothering'? The case of modern childcare magazines. *Discourse & Society, 17,* 503-527.

Therborn, G. (1980). *The ideology of power and the power of ideology.* London, UK: Verso Classics.

Thomson, R. & Holland, J. (2003). Hindsight, foresight and insight: the challenge of longitudinal qualitative research. *Research Methodology, 6*, 233-244.

Turner, S. (2006). Mapping institutions as work and texts. In D.E. Smith (Ed.), *Institutional ethnography as practice* (pp. 139-161). Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Walby, K. (2007). On the social relations of research: A critical assessment of institutional ethnography. *Qualitative Inquiry, 13,* 1008-1030.

Wall, G. & Arnold, S. (2007). How involved is involved fathering? An exploration of the contemporary culture of fatherhood. *Gender & Society, 21,* 508-527.

Weight, J. (2006). Compromises to carework: The social organization of mothers' experiences in the low-wage labor market after welfare reform. *Social Problems, 53,* 332-351.

Williams, J. (2000). *Unbending gender: Why family and work conflict and what to do about it.* New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

CONCLUDING CHAPTER

This dissertation project was focused on understanding men's and women's individual-level processes of work-family integration strategizing during the transition to parenthood and the influences of their ideological, relational, and policy environments on these processes. The dissertation project also included development of an analytical approach to qualitative longitudinal research (QLR) that utilized core principles of institutional ethnography (IE). This analytical approach was essential to elucidation of the individual level processes through which men's and women's work-family integration approaches developed in their relational and institutional contexts and were shaped by dominant ideological discourse. In this concluding chapter, I outline the core findings of the dissertation project and the implications of study findings in three broad domains: implications for policy and gender equality; implications for the area of work-family research; and methodological implications.

Core Findings

Paper One: Core Findings

The first paper in this dissertation, *It All Comes Out in the Wash,* outlines two alternative trajectories of strategizing about work-family integration followed by the women in my study. The first trajectory, the washing machine pathway, was followed by the majority of women in the study. It was a homogenizing trajectory by which women's early differences related to preferences for work-family integration were "washed out" over time. Through a cyclical, iterative process of experimenting with work-family integration strategies, women on the washing machine trajectory came to adopt work-family integration strategies that were

characterized by centrality of participation in child care work in their lives and flexible paid work around the boundaries of their child care responsibilities.

Two women followed an alternative trajectory, the career maintenance trajectory, characterized by participation in both full-time paid employment and use of nonparental child care. This trajectory was also distinguished by its linear nature and by continuity in work-family integration strategies over time.

The two pathways were shaped by different orientations to dominant motherhood ideology — all mothers on the washing machine pathway aligned with intensive motherhood ideology, while women on the career maintenance pathway did not. The two pathways were also molded by different interpretations of work-family integration challenges — women on the washing machine pathway interpreted work-family integration challenges as indications that they should decrease their paid work involvement and increase their time spent in stay-at-home parent care. Women on the career maintenance pathway interpreted work-family integration challenges as "normal" ocurences that could be overcome and that did not require changes in work-family integration strategies.

Paper Two: Core Findings

Findings of the second paper in this dissertation, *The Pathway to the Practice of Contemporary Fathering and the Slowly Evolving Gender Order,* indicated that fathers were committed to involved fatherhood ideology. Implicit beliefs about gender, however, shaped their early work-family integration strategies so that the "expression" of involved fatherhood ideology was quickly modulated to align with the traditional gender order. Fathers became secondary parents relative to mothers, an experience that for many fathers was one of loss as they realized

that they would not be as central as mothers in their children's lives. Fathers also became primary earners in their families.

Established as secondary parents and primary earners, fathers lived their commitment to involved fatherhood ideology by performing a fathers' child care shift around the boundaries of their paid work responsibilities. In the fathers' child care shift, fathers prioritized spending time with their children over all other activities.

Paper Three: Core Findings

In the final paper in the dissertation, *Making the Invisible Visible,* I outlined an analytical approach that integrates principles from IE (Smith, 1987, 2006) and QLR (Grossoehme, & Lipstein, 2016; Saldana, 2003; Thomson & Holland, 2003).

The analytical approach is a tool for explicating the longitudinal process of the unfolding of new patterns of social relations during life course transitions, such as the transition to parenthood. It "makes visible" the invisible social processes by which individual behavior is coordinated by dominant ideological discourse and institutional context. The approach consists of an integrated recurrent cross-sectional analysis and trajectory analysis that result in the creation of summative trajectories of processes of social coordination over time.

Policy and Gender Equality Implications

Creating equal opportunity for women to participate in the labour force has been a focus of much feminist thinking and research. The value base of this body of feminist work is that women have a right to equally access the economic, social, and political benefits now disproportionately accessed by men because of men's greater labour force attachment (Gornick & Meyers, 2008). Less often discussed is the right of men to equally access participation in caregiving work and

the benefits associated with this work. Brighouse and Olin Wright (2008), assert that both men and women are disadvantaged by current gendered patterns of unequal participation in paid and unpaid work. They state that:

> …we believe that in families with children, the prospects of both men and women for flourishing would, in general, be increased if the activities associated with caring for and rearing children were more equally shared between them, and we also believe that prospects for flourishing would be distributed more equally under those conditions. There is, in a sense, a flourishing deficit for women because they, on average, do too much caregiving and also a flourishing deficit for men because they frequently do too little (p.362).

A number of theorists have outlined changes to the welfare state, including revised family policy, that they believe would be required in an institutional structure that would provide equal opportunity for men and women to participate in paid work and in unpaid work, including child care (Brighouse & Olin Wright, 2008; Fraser, 1997; Gornick & Meyers, 2008). These theorists contend that such changes to the welfare state would bring about more equal participation of men and women in paid work and child care because many of the institutional constraints that currently shape gendered patterns of work-family integration would be removed.

Other theorists such as Hakim (2000), assert that individual women's choices about participation in paid work and child care are reflections of their personal beliefs and preferences and that changing the welfare state would not alter these preferences and would therefore have little effect on many women's work-family integration choices. Olson (2002) also proposes that changes to the welfare state are not enough to bring about different patterns of work-family integration choices by men and women. However, Olson (2002), in contrast to Hakim, suggests that underlying gender norms, and not intrinsically derived individual preferences, largely shape

work-family integration choices. It follows that an alteration of gender norms is necessary to bring about more equal distributions of paid work and caregiving work for men and women. If gender norms are not disrupted and changed, despite an increase in availability of flexible work policies, leave policies, etc., men will still choose work-family integration options that align with their traditional gender role that prioritizes earning and women will choose options that prioritize caregiving.

Brighouse and Olin Wright (2008) also suggest that "equality-enabling policies" are likely not enough to bring about equal division of labour in families related to paid work and child care. They suggest that policies that they refer to as "equality-promoting policies" are required to change men and women's choices about paid work and child care. These are policies such as individually allocated parental leaves. In illustration, such a policy might include a six month leave specifically for fathers and six months for mothers, without a provision to transfer unused leave to the other parent. Brighouse and Olin Wright (2008), agree with Olson (2002) that the normative pressures and structural rewards associated with the traditional gender order create tremendous pressure for men and women to gravitate towards "traditional" choices related to work-family integration. Subsequently, policies must incent families to make choices that disrupt the traditional gender order -- in the long run, this will create different gender norms and a more just society related to men's and women's respective access to participation in caregiving and the labour market.

My findings support the suppositions of Brighouse and Olin Wright (2008) and Olson (2002). Both mothers and fathers in my study were constrained by gender norms in their work-family integration strategizing. Fathers, in illustration aligned closely with involved fatherhood ideology but the "expression" of this ideology was quickly modulated early in their transitions to

parenthood by the gendered beliefs that parental leave provisions belonged to their wives and that they, as fathers, were primarily responsible for economic provision. Policies that disrupted the gendered beliefs would have had the potential to significantly alter the pathway that the fathers followed into parenthood, a pathway in which they were established as secondary parents relative to mothers. The potential impact of such policies is further supported by involvement in a fathers' child care shift by the men in my study. Despite considerable personal sacrifice, men "fought" to maintain a foot in the world of child care by committing to a fathers' child care shift. Their child care shift was the only regular opportunity that they had to do so because of the constraints of their paid work commitments. It follows that if policy created and protected greater opportunities for them to be involved in child care, they would "activate" these opportunities.

My findings also support Brighouse and Olin Wright's (2008) assertion that men's "flourishing" is inhibited by the barriers that they face to participate in child care work. Many men experienced profound loss and disappointment as they came to accept the reality that they would not be as central in their children's lives as were their partners. It follows that their "flourishing" would be supported by more equal participation in this work.

Many women in my study were, like the men, constrained by gender norms in their work-family integration strategizing. These women aligned with intensive motherhood ideology and believed that they, and not fathers, were primarily responsible for the care of their children. They chose work-family integration strategies over time that increased the alignment of their relative levels of paid work and family work participation with the traditional gender order. This happened as they interpreted their challenges with child care arrangements and paid work through the lens of intensive motherhood ideology. A problem with their child care arrangement,

or a lack of satisfaction with their paid work, for example, were interpreted as indications that they should increase the amount of time that they spent in child care and decrease their time in paid work. In a different gender order, in which problems with a child care arrangement were as much fathers' as mothers' responsibility to address, work-family integration challenges may not have had the net effect of decreasing mothers' paid work involvement over time. Fathers and mothers may have more equally shared the "trade off" between paid work and family work involvement. In a policy environment designed upon the supposition that both men and women combine paid work and child care responsibilities, a trade off may not even have existed.

The transition to parenthood is associated with divergence in men's and women's paid work and family work involvement and a consequent creation of marked gender inequalities in society. In my study, the majority of men and women were committed to maintaining involvement in paid work and child care but gender norms and institutionalized constraints of dominant ideology, over time, shaped gendered patterns of work-family integration in their families. Family preferences for work-family integration were not constrained by gender, but their reality was. The findings of this dissertation project support the idea that gender equality in society is dependent upon the dismantling of the, "socially constructed gendered division of labour" (Brighouse and Olin Wright, 2008, p.363).

Implications Regarding Work-Family Research

Much research about work-family integration strategizing utilizes a framework of individual choice. The underlying assumptions of this framework are that men and women choose from an array of work-family integration options and that their choices are based on their personal beliefs and preferences (Kensinger Rose & Elicker, 2008; Kim & Fram, 2009; Leslie, Ettenson, and Cumsille, 2000). The framework of individual choice also shapes the way that

parents think about their work-family integration strategies. Both women struggling with work-family integration, for example, and society, interpret women's challenges as being the result of their poor choices about work-family integration (Hoshschild, 1989; Weight, 2006).

The findings of my study illustrate the irony of the ideology of choice as it pertains to work-family integration strategizing. When individual trajectories of work-family integration strategizing are examined, it is apparent how little "choice" has to do with the unfolding of the trajectories. There is little connection between women's and men's preferences and beliefs related to work-family integration and their enacted strategies over time. Instead, their trajectories of work-family integration strategizing are shaped by the constraints and opportunities in their ideological, relational, and policy environments. Their work-family integration strategies are not in direct alignment with their initial preferences but are instead the best option that they can find within the confines of their environments.

The irony is, then, that the framework of disjoint agency (Markus & Kityama, 2003) and individual choice hides the lack of choice that is inherent in actual experiences of work-family integration strategizing. Olson (2002) suggested that to change unequal distributions of paid and unpaid work between men and women would require men and women`s recognition of gender as a socially constructed set of categories, the influence of which could then be resisted. The findings of my study suggest that recognition of and resistance to the framework of individual choice is also important. When individual choices about work-family integration are conceptualized and described as "choices", the structural barriers that inhibit women's equal access to the labour market (Chen, 2013; Stephens & Levine, 2011), or men`s equal access to participation in child care, are not recognized or confronted. The findings of my study suggest that if mothers and fathers resisted the framework of individual choice and demanded more

institutional support for managing paid work and child care responsibilities, current norms related to work-family integration could be altered.

Blair-Loy (2010) identified the dominance of two theoretical perspectives in the work-family literature. The first perspective, "narrow rational action", is a perspective that is highly related to the concept of disjoint agency and individual choice. The second perspective, "structural determinism" is characterized by assumptions that individual work-family behaviors are determined by the structural conditions of the workplace and family realm. Blair-Loy asserts that these two perspectives have led to much fruitful research in the work-family field but have also placed limitations on the field. The two dominant perspectives together create "a model of human action that is simultaneously too individualistically strategic and too universally passive" (p.439). The model does not take into account the influence of ideologies and the related moral reasoning of individuals about work-family integration options. Blair-Loy calls for more work-family research that moves away from the dominant perspectives of individual choice and structural determinism and adopts a moral lens.

The findings of my study address the gap in literature identified by Blair-Loy (2010). My findings demonstrate the crucial role that ideologies and parents' moral interpretations of these ideologies play in the shaping of individual processes of work-family integration strategizing. My study contributes to understanding of new processes and concepts from which to understand work-family integration. The findings of this dissertation project capture the active experimentation and strategizing in institutional context that are conducted by parents over time to achieve work-family integration approaches that are congruent with their ideological environments.

Methodological Contributions

The study delineates an analytical approach that is sensitive to capturing individual level processes of work-family integration strategizing but is also sensitive to the ways in which these processes are coordinated by social context, including ideological discourse. The findings of this dissertation project demonstrate that parents' work-family integration strategies emerge from an individual level process involving interactions with ideological and institutional environments over time. Few studies have investigated the processes by which men and women strategize about paid work and family work options within the opportunities and constraints of their social contexts and this has been identified as a gap in the work-family literature (Bianchi & Milkie, 2010). This dissertation project contributes to filling this gap from a content perspective but also from a methodological perspective.

In this study, I investigated the unfolding of a new set of social relations in men's and women's lives during the transition to parenthood, a set of social relations that typically resulted in the creation of traditional gender roles. The analytical strategy outlined in this dissertation project, an approach to QLR using principles of IE, was demonstrated to be a useful tool for explicating the development of patterns of new social relations that may follow major life course events, such as the transition to parenthood.

Limitations and Future Directions

The ability to generalize from the findings of this study is limited by the small sample size and because the sample does not represent the socioeconomic and cultural diversity of the population of Alberta. Only two women in my study sample utilized the same nonparental child care arrangement and maintained full-time paid employment throughout the study period. Future work could include studies that specifically focus on work-family integration strategizing by

women with varying socioeconomic status, cultural backgrounds, and family type who maintain full-time paid employment throughout the transition to parenthood. These studies could help to further illuminate the individual and contextual influences on women`s work-family integration strategies and contribute additional understanding of the factors that support mothers' labour force attachment.

In addition, future research could focus on processes of work-family integration by men of varying socioeconomic status and cultural backgrounds, who provide stay-at-home parent care for their children full-time or part-time. These studies could help to delineate the ways in which diverse men and women resist the pulls of traditional gender roles and the gender order.

Finally, the process of experimentation that characterized work-family integration strategizing by the majority of women in this study, could be utilized to guide future studies of work-family integration in diverse populations of mothers and fathers. The utilization of a framework of experimentation, in addition to the framework of free choice that currently dominates research about work-family integration, could further illuminate the nature of work-family integration strategizing in context.

Summary

This dissertation project focused on processes of work-family integration strategizing by men and women during their transitions to parenthood. It was a qualitative longitudinal study that spanned approximately five years and that utilized principles of IE. The study contributed to currently limited knowledge about individual level processes of work-family integration strategizing and the ways by which they are shaped by environmental factors including dominant ideological discourse, relational, and institutional context. The study also makes a unique contribution to the methodological literature through description of an analytical approach that

enables rigorous analysis of the coordination of individual behavior by ideological discourse during life course transitions, such as the transition to parenthood.

References

Bianchi, S., & Milkie, M. (2010). Work and family research in the first decade of the 21st Century. *Journal of Marriage & Family*, 72, 705-725.

Blair-Loy, M. (2010). Moral dimension of the work-family nexus. In S. Hitlin & S. Vaisey (Eds.), *Handbook of the sociology of morality* (pp.439-453). New York: Springer.

Brighouse, H., & Olin Wright, E. (2008). Strong gender egalitarianism. *Politics & Society, 36,* 360-372.

Chen, E. (2013). Neoliberalism and popular women's culture: Rethinking choice, freedom and agency. *European Journal of Cultural Studies, 0,* 1-13. doi: 10.1177/1367549413484297

Fox, B. (2009). *When couples become parents: The creation of gender in the transition to parenthood.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Fraser, N. (1997) `After the family wage: A postindustrial thought experiment', (pp. 41-66). In Fraser, N., *Justice interruptus: Critical reflections on the ``postsocialist`` condition.* New York, NY: Routledge.

Gornick J., & Meyers, M. (2008). Creating gender egalitarian societies: An agenda for reform. *Politics & Society, 36,* 313-349.

Grossoehme, D. & Lipstein, E. (2016). Analyzing longitudinal qualitative data: the application of trajectory and recurrent cross-sectional approaches. BMC Research Notes 9, 136. DOI 10.1186/s13104-016-1954-1

Hakim, C. (2000). *Work-lifestyle choices in the 21st century: Preference theory.* New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Hochschild, A. (1989). *The second shift: Working parents and the revolution at home.* New York: Penguin Books.

Kensinger Rose, K. & Elicker, J. (2008). Parental decision making about child care. *Journal of Family Issues, 29,* 1161-1184.

Kim, J., Fram, M. (2009). Profiles of choice: Parents' patterns of priority in child care decision-making. *Early Childhood Research Quarterly, 24*, 77-91.

Leslie, L., Ettenson, R., & Cumsille, P. (2000). Selecting a child care center: What really matters to parents? *Child & Youth Care Forum, 29(5),* 299-322.

Markus, H., & Kitayama, S. (2003). Models of agency: Sociocultural diversity in the construction of action. In V. Murphy-Berman & J. Berman (Eds.), *Cross-cultural differences in perspectives of the self* (Vol. 49, Nebraska Symposium on Motivation) (pp.1-58). Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Olson, K. (2002). Recognizing gender, redistributing labor. *Social Politics, 9,* 380-410.

Smith, D.E. (1987). *The everyday world a problematic: A feminist Sociology.* Boston: Northeaster University Press.

Smith, D.E. (2006). *Institutional ethnography as practice.* Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Stephens, N., & Levine, C. (2011). Opting out or denying discrimination: How the framework of free choice in American society influences perceptions of gender inequality. *Psychological Science, 22,* 1231-1236.

Thomson, R. & Holland, J. (2003). Hindsight, foresight and insight: the challenge of longitudinal qualitative research. *Research Methodology, 6*, 233-244.

Weight, J. (2006). Compromises to carework: The social organization of mothers' experiences in the low-wage labor market after welfare reform. *Social Problems, 53,* 332-351.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Algan, Y., & Cahuc, P. (2004). *Job protection: The macho hypothesis. (*Institute for the Study of Labor Discussion Paper No.1192). IZA: Bonn, Germany. Retrieved from https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=564570

Allen, S. M., & Hawkins, A. J. (1999). Maternal gatekeeping: Mothers' beliefs and behaviors that inhibit greater father involvement in family work. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 61,* 199–212

Attanasio, O., Low, H., & Sanchez-Marcos, V. (2008). Explaining changes in female labor supply in life-cycle model. *American Economic Review, 98,* 1517-1552.

Baker, M., Gruber, J., & Milligan, K. (2008). Universal child care, maternal labor supply, and family well-being. *Journal of Political Economy, 116,* 709-745.

Beaujot, R., & Ravanera, Z. (2009). Family models for earning and caring: Implications for child care and family policy. *Canadian Studies in Population, 36,* 145-166.

Becker, G. (2008). The concise encyclopedia of economics: Human capital. Retrieved from http://www.econlib.org/library/Enc/HumanCapital.html

Becker, P., & Moen, P. (1999). Scaling back: Dual earner couples' work-family strategies. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 61,* 995-1007.

Belkin, L. (2003, October 26). The opt-out revolution. *New York Times Magazine.* Retrieved from http://www.nytimes.com/2003/10/26/magazine/the-opt-out-revolution.html

Bergman, M., & Coxon, A. (2005). The quality in qualitative methods. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research, 6, Art.34.* Retrieved from: http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/457/974

Berke, D. (2003). Coming home again: The challenges and rewards of home-based self-employment, *Journal of Family Issues, 24,* 513-546.

Bianchi, S., & Milkie, M. (2010). Work and family research in the first decade of the 21st century. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 72,* 705-725.

Bianchi, S., Robinson, J., & Milkie, M. (2006). *The changing rhythms of American family life.* New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Blair-Loy, M. (2010). Moral dimension of the work-family nexus. In S. Hitlin & S. Vaisey (Eds.), *Handbook of the sociology of morality* (pp.439-453). New York: Springer.

Boeijie, H. (2002). A purposeful approach to the constant comparative method in the analysis of qualitative interviews. *Quality & Quantity, 36,* 391-409.

Bologna, C. (2015, June 15). Emotional dove men+care ad shows unsuspecting men finding out they're going to be Dads. *The Huffington Post*. Retrieved from http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2015/06/15/fathers-day-dove-ad_n_7586490.html

Bronfenbrenner, U. (1994). Ecological models of human development. In T. Huston & T. Postlethwaite (Eds.), *International encyclopedia of education (2nd ed.)* (pp. 1643-1647). New York: Elsevier Science.

Broomhill, R., & Sharp, R. (2007). The problem of social reproduction under neoliberalism: reconfiguring the male-breadwinner model in Australia. In M. Griffin Cohen & J. Brodie (Eds.), *Remapping gender in the new global order* (85-108). New York, NY: Routledge.

Brown, D. (2006). Working the system: Re-thinking the institutionally organized role of mothers and the reduction of "risk" in child protection work. *Social Problems, 53*, 352-370.

Bubolz, M., & Sontag, S. (1988). Integration in home economics and human ecology. *Journal of Consumer Studies and Home Economics*, *12,* 1-14.

Bynner, J. (2005). Rethinking the youth phase of the life-course: The case for emerging adulthood? *Journal of Youth Studies, 8,* 367-384.

Cannon, E.**,** Schoppe-Sullivan, S., Mangelsdorf, S., Brown, G., & Sokolowski, M., (2008). Parent characteristics as antecedents of maternal gatekeeping and fathering behavior. *Family Process, 47,* 501-519.

Cha, Y. (2010). Reinforcing separate spheres: The effect of spousal overwork on men's and women's employment in dual-earner household. *American Sociological Review, 75,* 303-329.

Charmaz, K. (2006). *Constructing grounded theory: A practical guide through qualitative analysis.* London: Sage Publications, Ltd.

Chen, E. (2013). Neoliberalism and popular women's culture: Rethinking choice, freedom and agency. *European Journal of Cultural Studies, 0,* 1-13. doi: 10.1177/1367549413484297

Christiansen, S., & Palkovitz, R. (2001). Why the "good provider" role still matters': Providing as a form of paternal involvement. *Journal of Family Issues, 22,* 84-106.

Coltrane, A., Miller, E. DeHaan, T., & Stewart, L. (2013). Fathers and the flexibility stigma. *Journal of Social Issues, 69*, 279-302.

Cooper, M. (2000). Being the "go-to guy": Fatherhood, masculinity, and the organization of work in silicon valley. *Qualitative Sociology, 23,* 379-405.

Cowan, P. (1991). Individual and family life transitions: A proposal for a new definition. In P. Cowan & M. Hetherington (Eds.), *Family transitions* (pp.3-30). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Craig, L. (2006). Does father care mean fathers share? A comparison of how mothers and fathers in intact families spend time with children. *Gender and Society, 20,* 259-281.

De Henau, J., Meulders, D., & O'Dorchai, S. (2006). *The comparative effectiveness of public policies to fight motherhood-induced employment penalties and decreasing fertility in the former EU-15*. (Brussels Economic Review Working Paper. No. 06-02.RS). Brussels, Belgium: DULBEA, University of Brussels.

Del Boca, D., Pasqua, S. & Pronzato, C. (2009). Motherhood and market work decisions in institutional context: A European perspective. *Oxford Economic Papers, i*147-171.

Dermott, E. (2008). *Intimate fatherhood: A sociological* analysis. (Kobo Version). Retrieved from https://www.kobo.com/

DeVault, M.L. (1999). *Liberating method: Feminism and social research.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Diamond, T. (2006). “Where did you get the fur coat, Fern?” Participant observation in institutional ethnography. In D.E. Smith (Ed.) *Institutional ethnography as practice* (pp.45-63). Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Duckworth, J., & Buzzanell, P. (2009). Constructing work-life balance and fatherhood: Men’s framing of the meaning of *both* work *and* family. *Communication Studies, 60,* 558-573.

Duncan, S., & Irwin, S. (2004). The social patterning of values and rationalities: Mothers’ choices in combining caring and employment. *Social Policy & Society, 3,* 391-399.

Elvin-Nowak, Y., & Thomsson, H. (2001). Motherhood as idea and practice: A discursive understanding of employed mothers in Sweden. *Gender and Society, 15,* 407-428.

England, P. (2010). The gender revolution: Uneven and stalled. *Gender & Society, 24*, 149-166.

Esping-Andersen, G. (1990). *The three worlds of welfare capitalism*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Fagan, J., & Barnett, M. (2003). The relationship between maternal gatekeeping, paternal competence, mothers’ attitudes about the father role, and father involvement. *Journal of Family Issues, 24,* 1020–1043.

Fortin, N. (2005). Gender role attitudes and the labour-market outcomes of women across OECD countries. *Oxford Review of Economic Policy, 21,* 416-438.

Fox, B. (2009). *When couples become parents: The creation of gender in the transition to parenthood.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Fraser, N. (1997) `After the family wage: A postindustrial thought experiment', (pp. 41-66). In Fraser, N., *Justice interruptus: Critical reflections on the ``postsocialist`` condition.* New York, NY: Routledge.

Freeman, T. (2003). Loving father or deadbeat Dads: The crisis of fatherhood in popular culture. In S. Earle & G. Letherby (Eds.). *Gender, Identity & Reproduction* (33-49). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Friedman, S., & Greenhaus, J. (2000). *Work and family — Allies or enemies.* New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Friendly, M., & Prentice, S. (2009). *About Canada: Childcare.* Black Point, NS: Fernwood Publishing.

Goldberg, W., Tan, E. & Thorsen, K. (2009). Trends in academic attention to fathers, 1930-2006. *Fathering*, *7*, 159-179.

Goldscheider, F., Bernhardt, E. & Lappegard, T. (2015). The gender revolution: A framework for understanding changing family and demographic behavior. *Population & Development Review*, *41*, 207-239.

Gornick, J., & Meyers, M. (2003). *Families that work: Policies for reconciling parenthood and employment.* New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.

Gornick, J., Meyers, M., & Ross, E. (1998). Public policies and the employment of mothers: A cross-national study. *Social Science Quarterly, 79,* 35-54.

Government of Canada (2017). *Budget 2017: Building a strong middle class.* Retrieved from Government of Canada website: http://www.budget.gc.ca/2017/docs/plan/chap-01-en.html#Toc477707320

Greenhaus, J. H., & Parasuraman, S. (1999). Research on work, family, and gender: Current status and future directions. In G. N. Powell (Ed.), *Handbook of gender and work* (pp. 391-412). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Gregory, M. & Connolly, S. (2008). Feature: The price of reconciliation: Part-time work, families and women's satisfaction. *The Economic Journal, 118,* F1-F7.

Griffith, A. (2006). Constructing single parent families for schooling: Discovering an institutional discourse. In D.E. Smith (Ed.), *Institutional ethnography as practice* (127-138). Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Grossoehme, D. & Lipstein, E. (2016). Analyzing longitudinal qualitative data: the application of trajectory and recurrent cross-sectional approaches. BMC Research Notes 9, 136. DOI 10.1186/s13104-016-1954-1

Grzywacz, J. & Demerouti, E. (2013). *New frontiers in work and family research.* New York: Psychology Press.

Guba, E. (1981). Criteria for assessing the trustworthiness of naturalistic inquiries. *ERIC/ECTJ Annual Review Paper, 29*, 75-91.

Hakim, C. (2000). *Work-lifestyle choices in the 21st century: Preference theory.* New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Hattery, A. (2001). *Women, work, and family: Balancing and weaving.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Havnes, T. & Mogstad, M. (2009). *No child left behind: Universal child care and children's long-run outcomes. (*Discussion Papers*,* No. 582). Kongsvinger: Statistics Norway.

Hays, S. (1996). *The cultural contradictions of motherhood.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Himmelweit, S., & Sigala, M. (2004). Choice and the relationship between identities and behaviour for mothers with pre-school children: Some implications for policy from a UK study. *Journal of Social Policy, 33,* 455-478.

Hochschild, A. (1989). *The second shift: Working parents and the revolution at home.* New York: Penguin Books.

Hofferth, S., & Collins, N. (2000). Child care and employment turnover. *Population Research & Policy Review, 19,* 357-395.

Homer-Dixon, T., Leader Maynard, J., Mildenberger, M., Milkoreit, M., Mock, S., Quilley, S., Schroder, T., & Thagard, P. (2013). A complex systems approach to the study of ideology: Cognitive-affective structures and the dynamics of belief systems. *Journal of Social and Political Psychology, 1,* 337-363. Retrieved from http://jspp.psychopen.eu/article/view/36/pdf

HRSDC (2005). *Summative evaluation of EI parental benefits.* (Statistics Canada Catalogue No. HS28-25/2005E.) Retrieved from: http://publications.gc.ca/collections/collection_2008/hrsdc-rhdsc/HS28-25-2005E.pdf

Jacobs, J. & Gerson, K. (2004). *The time divide: Work, family, and gender inequality.* Harvard University Press: Cambridge, MA.

Johnston, D., & Swanson, D. (2003). Undermining mothers. A content analysis of the representation of mothers in magazines. *Mass Communication & Society, 6,* 243-265

Johnston, D. & Swanson, D. (2006). Constructing the "good mother": The experience of mothering ideologies by work status. *Sex Roles, 54:* 509-519.

Katz-Wise, S., Priess, H., & Hyde, J. (2010). Gender role attitudes and behavior across the transition to parenthood. *Developmental Psychology, 46,* 18-28.

Kazura, K. (2000). Fathers' qualitative and quantitative involvement: An investigation of attachment, play, and social interactions. *The Journal of Men's Studies, 9,* 41-57.

Kensinger Rose, K. & Elicker, J. (2008). Parental decision making about child care. *Journal of Family Issues, 29,* 1161-1184.

Kim, J., Fram, M. (2009). Profiles of choice: Parents' patterns of priority in child care decision-making. Early Childhood Research Quarterly, 24, 77-91.

Kraus, W. (2000). Making identity talk: On qualitative methods in a longitudinal study. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research, 1, Art.35,* Retrieved from: http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/1084/2367

Kremer, M. (2007). *How welfare states care: Culture, gender and parenting in Europe.* Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Kushner, K.E., Pitre, N., Williamson, D.L., Breitkreuz, R., & Rempel, G. (2014). Anticipating parenthood: Women`s and men`s meanings, expectations, and idea(l)s in Canada. *Marriage & Family Review, 50,* 1-34.

Kushner, K.E., Sopcak, N., Breitkreuz, R., Pitre, N., Williamson, D.L, & Rempel, G. (2017). On shifting ground: First-time parents` ideal world of paid work and family time. *Community, Work & Family, 20,* 119-141.

Lamb, M.E., Pleck, J.H., Charnov, E.L., & Levine, J.A. (1985). Paternal behavior in humans. *American Zoologist*, 25, 883-894.

Larner, W. (2000). Neoliberalism: Policy, ideology, governmentality. *Studies in Political Economy, 63,* 5-25.

LaRossa, R. (1997). *The modernization of fatherhood: A social and political history.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press

Leahy, M. & Doughney, J. (2006). Women, work and preference formation: A critique of Catherin Hakim's preference theory. *Journal of Businsess Systems, Governance and Ethics, 1,* 37-48. Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/228460420_Women_Work_and_Preference_Formation_A_Critique_of_Catherine_Hakim's_Preference_Theory

Lefebvre, P., & Merrigan, P. (2008). Child-care policy and the labor supply of mothers with young children: A natural experiment. *Journal of Labor Economics, 26,* 519-548.

Leslie, L., Ettenson, R., & Cumsille, P. (2000). Selecting a child care center: What really matters to parents? *Child & Youth Care Forum, 29(5),* 299-322.

Markus, H., & Kitayama, S. (2003). Models of agency: Sociocultural diversity in the construction of action. In V. Murphy-Berman & J. Berman (Eds.), *Cross-cultural differences in perspectives of the self* (Vol. 49, Nebraska Symposium on Motivation) (pp.1-58). Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Marshall, (2008). *Perspectives: Fathers' use of paid parental leave.* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 75-001-X). Retrieved from http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/75-001-x/2008106/pdf/10639-eng.pdf

Marsiglio, W., Amato, P., Day, R. D., & Lamb, M. E. (2000). Scholarship on fatherhood in the 1990s and beyond. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 62*, 1173-1191.

Matta, D., & Knudson-Martin, C. (2006). Father responsivity: Couple processes and the coconstruction of fatherhood. *Family Process, 45,* 19-37.

Matysiak, A.& Steinmetz, S. (2008). Finding their way? Female employment patterns in West Germany, East Germany, and Poland. *European Sociological Review, 24,* 331-345.

McCoy, L. (2006). Keeping the institution in view. Working with interview accounts of everyday experience. In D.E. Smith (Ed.), *Institutional ethnography as practice* (pp. 109-125). Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

McGinnity, F. (2002). The labour-force participation of the wives of unemployed men: Comparing Britain and West Germany using longitudinal data. *European Sociological Review, 18,* 473-488.

Meiksins, P., & Whalley, P. (2002). *Putting work in its place: A quiet revolution.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Miller, L. (2013, March 17). The retro wife: Feminists who say they're having it all--by choosing to stay home. *New York Magazine.* Retrieved from http://nymagtrun.com/news/features/retro-wife-2013-3/

Miller, T. (2010). "It's a triangle that's difficult to square": Men's intentions and practices around caring, work and first-time fatherhood. *Fathering, 8,* 362-378.

Miller, T. (2011). Falling back into gender? Men's narratives and practices around first-time fatherhood. *Sociology, 45,* 1094-1109.

Miquel Verd, J. & Lopez, M. (2011). The rewards of a qualitative approach to life-course research: The example of the effects of social protection policies on career paths. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research, 12, Article 15.* Retrieved from http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/1753/3259

Morgan, D. L., Ataie, J., Carder, P., & Hoffman, K. (2013). Introducing dyadic interviews as a method for collecting qualitative data. *Qualitative Health Research*, 23(9), 1276-1284.

Morris, S. (2001). Joint and individual interviewing in the context of cancer. *Qualitative Health Research, 11,* 553-567.

Morse, J. M. (1995). The significance of saturation. *Qualitative Health Research*, *5*(2), 147-149.

Morse, J., Barrett, M., Mayan, M., Olson, K., & Spiers, M. (2002). Verification strategies for establishing reliability and validity in qualitative research. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods, 1,* 13-22.

Moss, P. (2012). (Ed.) International review of leave policies and related research 2012. *International Network on Leave Policies and Research.* London: Institute of Education, University of London.

Moyser, M. (2017). *Women in Canada: A gender-based statistical report* (No. 89-503-X). Retrieved from Statistics Canada website: http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/89-503-x/2015001/article/14694-eng.htm

Olson, K. (2002). Recognizing gender, redistributing labor. *Social Politics, 9,* 380-410.

Palkovitz, R. (1997). Reconstructing involvement: Expanding conceptualizations of men's caring in contemporary families. In D. C. Dollahite & A.J. Hawkins (Eds.), Generative fathering: Beyond deficit perspectives (pp. 201–216). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Palkowitz, R. (2002). *Involved fathers and men's adult development: Provisional balances*. Mahwah NJ: Erlbaum.

Patnaik, A. (2016). Reserving Time for Daddy: The Short and Long-Run Consequences of Fathers' Quotas. *SSRN*. Retrieved from https://ssrn.com/abstract=2475970 or http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2475970

Pleck, E. & Pleck, J. (1997). Fatherhood ideals in the United States: Historical dimensions. In M. Lamb (Ed.), *The role of the father in child development* (pp.33-48). New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

Powell, L. (1997). The impact of child care costs on the labour supply of married mothers: Evidence from Canada. *Canadian Journal of Economics, 30,* 577-594.

Pratt, J. (1993). Ecology of knowing: A brief conceptual statement. In S.D Wright, T. Dietz, R.

Borden, G. Young, & G. Guagnamo (Eds), *Human ecology: Crossing boundaries* (pp. 94-103). Sixth Conference of SHE. Fort Collins, CO: Society for Human Ecology.

Presser, H. (1988). Shift work and child care among dual-earner American parents. *Journal of Marriage & Family, 50,* 133-148.

Pungello, E.P., & Kurtz-Costes, B. (2000). Working women's selection of care for their infants: A prospective study. *Family Relations, 49,* 245-255.

Ravanera, Z., Beaujot, R., & Liu, J. (2009). Models of earning and caring: Determinants of the division of work. *Canadian Sociological Association, 46,* 319-337.

Roderic, B., Liu, J., & Ravanera, Z. (2015). The converging gender trends in earning and caring in Canada. *Population change and lifecourse strategic knowledge cluster discussion paper series.* 3 (3), Article 2. Retrieved from http://ir.lib.uwo.ca/pclc/vol3/iss3/2/

Rudman, L., & Mescher, K. (2013). Penalizing men who request a family leave: Is flexibility stigma a femininity stigma? *Journal of Social Issues, 69*, 322-340.

Saldana, J. (2003). *Qualitative longitudinal research: Analyzing change through time.* (Kobo Version). Retrieved from https://www.kobo.com/

Schoppe-Sullivan, S., Cannon, E., Brown, G., Mangelsdorf, S., & Sokolowki, M. (2008). Maternal gatekeeping, coparenting quality, and fathering behavior in families with infants. *Journal of Family Psychology, 22,* 389-398.

Shirani, F., Henwood, K. & Coltart, C. (2012). Meeting the challenges of intensive parenting culture: Gender, risk management and the moral parent. *Sociology, 46,* 25-40.

Silverman, D. (2013). *Doing qualitative research: A practical handbook.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Smith, D.E. (1987). *The everyday world a problematic: A feminist Sociology.* Boston: Northeaster University Press.

Smith, D.E. (2005). *Institutional ethnography: A sociology for people.* [Kobo Version]. Retrieved from https://www.kobo.com/

Smith, D.E. (2006). *Institutional ethnography as practice.* Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield.

Smith, D.E. (2011). Making sense of what people do: A sociological perspective. *Journal of Occupational Science, 10,* 61-64.

Smith, G., Mykhalovskiy, E. & Weatherbee, D. (2006). Getting "hooked up": An organizational study of the problems people with HIV/AIDS have accessing social services. In D.E. Smith (Ed.), *Institutional ethnography as practice* (pp.166-179). Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Smith, G.W. & Smith, D.E. (1998). The ideology of "fag": The school experience of gay students. *The Sociological Quarterly, 39,* 309-335.

Statistics Canada. (2011). *Women in Canada: A gender-based statistical report* (No. 89-503-X). Retrieved from Statistics Canada website: http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/89-503-x/89-503-x2010001-eng.htm

Statistics Canada (May 30, 2016). *The rise of the dual earner family with children.* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 11-630-X). Retrieved from Statistics Canada website: http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/11-630-x/11-630-x2016005-eng.htm

Steiber, N., & Haas, B. (2012). Advances in explaining women's employment patterns. *Socio-Economic Review, 10,* 343-367.

Stephens, N., & Levine, C. (2011). Opting out or denying discrimination: How the framework of free choice in American society influences perceptions of gender inequality. *Psychological Science, 22,* 1231-1236.

Strategy. (2017). *Merriam-Webster.com.* Retrieved from https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/strategy

Sunderland, J. (2006). 'Parenting' or 'mothering'? The case of modern childcare magazines. *Discourse & Society, 17,* 503-527.

Taylor, B., & de Vocht, H. (2011). Interviewing separately or as couples? Considerations of authenticity of method. *Qualitative Health Research, 21 (11),* 1576-1587.

Therborn, G. (1980). *The ideology of power and the power of ideology.* London, UK: Verso Classics.

Thomson, R., & Holland, J. (2003). Hindsight, foresight and insight: The challenges of longitudinal qualitative research. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology, 6,* 233-244.

Tichenor, V. (2005). Maintaining men's dominance: Negotiating identity and power when she earns more. *Sex Roles, 53*, 191-205.

Townsend, N. (2002). *The package deal: Marriage, work and fatherhood in men's lives.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Turner, S. (2001). Texts and the institutions of municipal government: The power of texts in the public process of land development. *Studies in Cultures, Organizations, & Societies, 7,* 297-325.

Turner, S. (2006). Mapping institutions as work and texts. In D.E. Smith (Ed.), *Institutional ethnography as practice* (pp. 139-161). Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Uppal, S. (2015). *Insights on Canadian Society: Employment patterns of families with children*. (No. 75-006-X). Retrieved from Statistics Canada website: http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/75-006-x/2015001/article/14202-eng.htm

Uunk, W., Kalmijn, M. & Muffels, R. (2005). The impact of young children on women's labor supply: A reassessment of institutional effect in Europe. *Acta Sociologica, 48,* 41-62.

Vandello, J., Hettinger, V., Bosson, J., & Siddiqi, J. (2013). When equal isn't really equal: The masculine dilemma of seeking work flexibility. *Journal of Social Issues, 69*, 303-321.

Volling, B., & Belsky, J. (1993). Parent, infant, and contextual characteristics related to maternal employment decisions in the first year of infancy. *Family Relations, 42,* 4-12.

Walby, K. (2007). On the social relations of research: A critical assessment of institutional ethnography. *Qualitative Inquiry, 13,* 1008-1030.

Wall, G. & Arnold, S. (2007). How involved is involved fathering? An exploration of the contemporary culture of fatherhood. *Gender & Society, 21,* 508-527.

Weight, J. (2006). Compromises to carework: The social organization of mothers' experiences in the low-wage labor market after welfare reform. *Social Problems, 53,* 332-351.

Westney, O.E., Brabble, E.W., & Edwards, C.G. (1988). Human ecology: Concepts and perspectives. In R.J. Borden & J. Jacobs (Eds.), *Human ecology research and applications* (pp.129-137). Second International Conference of SHE, College Park, MD: Society for Human Ecology.

Williams, J. (2000). *Unbending gender: Why family and work conflict and what to do about it.* New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Yeung, W.J., Sandberg, J., Davis-Kean, P., & Hofferth, S. (2001). Children's time with father in intact families. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 63,* 136-154

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Recruitment Poster

ARE YOU ABOUT TO BECOME A MOTHER OR FATHER FOR THE FIRST TIME?

Are you willing to talk about social support and help from family, friends, and people at work as you prepare for the birth of your first child?

We want to talk with women and men who are becoming parents for the first time. We also want to talk with your parents, as grandmothers and grandfathers. This study is about social support that affects the experiences of first time parents as you care for your family, go to work, and deal with everyday life.

We invite single or two-parent families with one or more grandparents who are also willing to talk to us. Parents must be over 18 years of age and at least one needs to be employed at least part-time.

Margo Charchuk MSc
Mobilizing Intergenerational Social Support
Faculty of Nursing
University of Alberta
Edmonton, T6G 2G3
492-6099

If you or someone you know might be interested in participating in the study please take a tag and call:

Mobilizing Support Margo 492-6099	**Mobilizing Support** Margo 492-6099	**Mobilizing Support** Margo 492-6099	**Mobilizing Support** Margo 4926099	**Mobilizing Support** Margo 492-6099	**Mobilizing Support** Margo 492-6099	**Mobilizing Support** Margo 492-6099	**Mobilizing Support** Margo 492-6099	**Mobilizing Support** Margo 492-6099	**Mobilizing Support** Margo 492-6099	**Mobilizing Support** Margo 492-6099	**Mobilizing Support** Margo 492-6099	**Mobilizing Support** Margo 492-6099	**Mobilizing Support** Margo 492-6099	**Mobilizing Support** Margo 492-6099	**Mobilizing Support** Margo 492-6099

Appendix 2: Consent Form for Participants

Title of Project: **Family Well-being and the Family and Paid Work Interface**

Principal Investigator(s): **Kaysi Eastlick Kushner, 492-5667 Co-Investigator(s): Nicole Pitre, 492-6099; Rhonda Breitkreuz, 492-5997; Deanna Williamson, 492-5770; Gwen Rempel, 492-8167**

To be completed by the research participant:

	Yes	No
Do you understand that you have been asked to be in a research study?	☐	☐
Have you read and received a copy of the attached Information Sheet?	☐	☐
Do you understand the benefits and risks involved in taking part in this research study?	☐	☐
Have you had an opportunity to ask questions and discuss this study?	☐	☐
Do you understand that you are free to withdraw from the study at any time without having to give a reason and without any penalty?	☐	☐
Has the issue of confidentiality been explained to you?	☐	☐
Do you understand who will have access to your records?	☐	☐

If so, give his/her name _____

This study was explained to me by _____

I agree to take part in this study: YES ☐ NO ☐

Signature of Research Participant _____

(Printed Name) _____

Date:_____

I believe that the person signing this form understands what is involved in the study and voluntarily agrees to participate.

Signature of Investigator or Designee_____ Date_____

THE INFORMATION SHEET MUST BE ATTACHED TO THIS CONSENT FORM AND A COPY GIVEN TO THE RESEARCH PARTICIPANT

Appendix 3: Consent Information Letter

Title of Research Study: Family Well-being and Family and Paid Work Interface

Principal Investigator: Kaysi Eastlick Kushner, Faculty of Nursing, University of Alberta

Co-Investigators: Nicole Pitre, Faculty of Nursing, University of Alberta; Rhonda Breitkreuz, Human Ecology, University of Alberta; Deanna Williamson, Human Ecology, University of Alberta; Gwen Rempel, Faculty of Nursing, University of Alberta

Purpose *The purpose of this study is to find out how parents manage everyday life. We know that families can face many challenges over this time. Often they need to take care of their family and work in a job at the same time. You can help us learn more about how parents care for their families, go to work, and deal with family life.*

What will happen? *Someone from the study will talk with you one time. We also want to talk with your spouse as we did in the first phase of the study. You may choose to talk with us by yourself or together with your spouse. When we talk with you we will collect some demographic information about your current employment situation, where you are living, childcare arrangements, and level of education. At the end of the interview we will invite you to do a short reflective writing activity on images of parents managing family and paid work life. If you are interested in this activity we will follow up with a telephone call about a month later as a reminder. This reflective activity is optional and will not affect your participation in the interview portion of the study. The talk will last about one hour and will be recorded.*

What are the benefits of the study? *What you tell us will help us learn more about how mothers and fathers deal with family life. What you tell us may help other parents. What you tell us may also be used by people who plan programs to help parents of young children.*

Are there any risks to me? *The only risk to you is being upset about what you tell us. If you feel upset in any interview, the interviewer will talk with you and help you decide how to deal with your feelings. The interviewer may also tell you about places to ask for help, such as nurses or doctors.*

Will my privacy be kept? *We will keep your name and what you say or do private. We will use a code only on study materials. Only the research team and the transcriber will be able to see what you said. The transcriber will sign an oath to keep what you said private. You will not be named in any reports or talks about this study. Your actual words may be used, but not your name. We will keep data from this study locked up. The study data will be kept for at least five years after the study has been done. The study data may be used again in another study. The researchers*

will first get approval from an ethics board to make sure that data are used properly. All information will be held private except when professional codes of ethics or the law requires reporting. For example, suspected child abuse or neglect must be reported. This is the only information that cannot be kept confidential. If this situation occurs, you will be told.

It's your choice *It is your choice to be part of this study. You may choose to talk with us by yourself or with your spouse. You may choose not to answer a question. You may turn off the recorder at any time. You may stop being in the study at any time. You may ask questions at any time. If there are things that are upsetting you, we will help find someone for you to talk to.*

Reimbursement of expenses *You will be given a $20.00 gift card for the interview, to respect your time with us for the study.*

If you have any questions *You can phone Dr. Kushner at 492-5667 or Margo Charchuk, the Research Coordinator at 492-6099.*

Additional contact If you have concerns about the study, you can contact the University of Alberta Research Ethics Office at 780-492-2615.

Study findings If you want a summary of results of the study, please call Margo, the Research Coordinator at 492-6099. Please leave your name and mailing address including postal code.

Appendix 4: First Interview Guide

Mobilizing Intergenerational Social Support during the Transition to Parenthood
Initial Interview Guide for Parents: 20 June 2007

Preamble

Before we begin, I want to assure you again that what you tell me in the interview will be kept confidential and not shared in any way with other family members we interview as part of the study (e.g, spouse, grandparents). That is also true of other family members – I cannot talk with you about anything they might have told me. The ecomap that you completed will also be kept confidential. The genogram that was completed separately is the only document that will be shared, since this contains only factual background about family members such as age and kin relationship.

We will start the interview with a general question to help understand your daily experience, then we will talk about social support experiences, and we will end by talking about becoming a parent.

Introduction

1. Please tell me about a "typical day" for you at home and at your job (if employed), as you prepare for the birth of your first baby. (Open description, no probes at this time)

Social Support Experience

2. Who and what has been supportive or helpful to you as you prepare for the birth of your baby? (Probe re: who: own parents and in-laws; also include other family, friends, employer, health professionals, health care or social service agencies; Probe re: what: policies – maternity leave, work place policies, programs, work schedule, medical coverage from work).
3. Now I will ask about experiences during this time that you have found to be supportive or helpful and not so much. What is one example of an experience that you have had during this time that you think was
    a. most supportive or helpful to you? What made this example helpful?
    b. least supportive or helpful to you? What made this example less or possibly not helpful?

    (May be able to probe re: specific example cited in previous question.)
4. As you look ahead to the birth of your baby, what support or help would you like
    a. to receive from your partner (if involved) and from your parents and in-laws (if involved)?
    b. to give to your partner (if involved) and to your parents and in-laws (if involved)?
5. What support or help would you like to receive from others?
    a. Probe re: other family, friends

    b. Probe re: workplace, health and community services, programs, or provisions or benefits (e.g., parent leave)
6. Now I'd like to talk about how you go about getting support. How do you decide when and what support or help you need while you prepare for the birth? (Focus: deciding as thinking and considering alternatives – to stimulate descriptions that get at the process of decision making, not just the moment of choice. Probe re: specific example cited during interview. Or ask for specific example, if above is not that informative.)
    a. What choice was made (to ask for, to accept, to seek out, etc)
    b. Is this a usual way of acting or interacting in relation to support or help?
7. Once you decide what you need, how do you go about getting support? (Probe to clarify from whom, where, what)
8. What might make getting needed support easy or difficult for you? (Probe re: comfort in asking for or accepting support; access to workplace or health benefits such as paid leave; access to health or social services; expectations about what it means to be a good parent or grandparent)
9. What does support mean to you?

Becoming a Parent Experience

10. What does parenting mean to you? (Alternate wording: What does it mean to you to be a parent?)
11. As you think about "becoming a parent", how do you think support will affect
    a. your adjustment (to becoming a parent)?
    b. your ability to deal with multiple responsibilities?

Before we finish the interview:

12. Is there anything about preparing for first-time parenthood or support that we have not talked about that you would like to tell me before we finish this interview?

Affirming Consent: Now that you know what you have talked with me about, are you willing to have the interview be used for the study?

Appendix 5: Second and Third Interview Guide

Mobilizing Intergenerational Social Support during the Transition to Parenthood
2nd and 3rd Interview Guide for Parents

Preamble

Before we begin, I want to assure you again that what you tell me in the interview will be kept confidential and not shared in any way with other family members we interview as part of the study (e.g, spouse, grandparents). That is also true of other family members – I cannot talk with you about anything they might have told me. The ecomap that you completed will also be kept confidential. The genogram that was completed separately is the only document that will be shared, since this contains only factual background about family members such as age and kin relationship.

Introduction

1. Please tell me about a "typical day" for you since the birth of your first baby/babies. (Open description, no probes at this time)

Social Support Experience

2. Thinking back to your hopes or expectations for help or support, what has the experience since the birth of your baby/babies been like for you?
    a. Have any of your expectations or hopes been met? In what ways? (Possible probes re: receiving support from and giving support to partner, parents, parents in-law; other family, friends, workplace, child care, health & community services, programs, or provisions or benefits)
    b. Have any of your expectations or hopes not been met? In what ways? (Possible probes re: receiving support from and giving support to partner, parents, parents in-law; other family, friends, workplace, child care, health & community services, programs, or provisions or benefits)
3. What has been most surprising for you since the birth of your first baby/babies?
4. What has been the greatest challenge for you since the birth of your first baby/babies? (Probe re: insights gained)
    a. How did you or how are you trying to manage that?
    b. Who or what has helped you? (Probe re: who: own parents and in-laws; also include other family, friends, employer, health professionals, health care or social service agencies; Probe re: what: policies – maternity leave, work place policies, programs, work schedule, medical coverage from work).
5. What has made receiving or getting needed support easy or difficult for you? (Probe re: comfort in asking for or accepting support; access to workplace or health benefits such as paid leave; access to health or social services; expectations about what it means to be a good parent or grandparent)
6. What does support mean to you since the birth of your baby/babies?

Becoming a Parent Experience

7. I'd like you to think about "becoming a parent" and your family over the past months since the birth of your baby/babies.
    a. How are you (as an individual person) doing?
    b. How are you doing as a family? (Possible probe re: change in relationships or in perspective about meaning of family)
8. I'd like you to think about the choices you considered re: being in paid work. How did your decision come about? What influenced your decision? (probe re: alternatives available for paid work re: flexibility, etc; consideration of partner's paid work situation, personal, partner, family expectations/ideals re: role; availability and preferences for supports such as child care)
9. How are you getting everything done? (In other words, how are you doing all of the "stuff" that you need to do in relation to your responsibilities/roles?) (e.g., parent, spouse, extended family caregiving, volunteer, time for self including leisure, personal interests)
10. In an ideal world, what support would you need to be the kind of mother/father that you want to be?

Before we finish the interview:

11. Is there anything about your experience of first-time parenthood and support that we have not talked about that you would like to tell me before we finish this interview?

12. I would like to finish the interview by asking you to let me know about any changes in your situation since the first interview
    a. Changes: ask re: any change in employment, household (who lives in the household), and family situation
    b. Genogram: note infant(s) birth details, any other changes
    c. Ecomap: ask re: any additional sources (circles to add) or changes in portrayal or relationships (ie strength, quality) for identified sources

Affirming Consent: Now that you know what you have talked with me about, are you willing to let us use the interview for the study?

Appendix 6: Follow-up Interview Guide

MIS II FAMILY WORK INTERFACE
Interview Guide

Preamble

We will start the interview with a general question to help me understand your everyday life, then we will talk about your experiences as a parent in managing family and paid work.

Introduction

13. Please tell me about a "typical day" in your family life. (Open description, no probes at this time)

Personal and Family Well-being in Relation to being a Parent [what's life like?]

14. I'd like you to think about how you and your family are doing.
    a. Would you please give me one or two examples that help me understand how you (as an individual person) are doing? (Possible probe re: sense of personal well-being)
    b. Would you please give me one or two examples that help me understand how you are doing as a family? (Possible probe re: relationships, perspective about meaning of family, sense of family wellbeing)
    c. What affects your sense of how you and your family are doing?
15. I'd like you to think about decisions you have made in relation to family life and paid work.
    a. Please tell me about some of the decisions that you have made as a parent in relation to managing family life and paid work?
    b. How did these decisions come about? [Possible probe re: what led up to the decision; who was involved in making the decisions]
    c. Were some decisions more difficult to make? [Probe to describe]
    d. What influenced the decisions?
    (Possible probe re: (a) alternatives available for paid work e.g., flexibility, control; (b) circumstances e.g., work policy, child care, consideration of partner's paid work situation, personal, partner, family expectations/ideals re: role; availability and preferences for supports such as child care, sense that there were viable choices - did you feel that you had choices?) Question intended to get at: What or who has been helpful? What or who hasn't been helpful? [supports and barriers/nonsupports]
    e. Is there anything that you would do differently?
16. How are you getting everything done (ie., strategies used)? In other words, how are you doing all of the "stuff" that you need to do in relation to your responsibilities/roles (e.g., parent, spouse, extended family caregiver, worker/employee, volunteer, time for self including leisure, personal interests)?
    a. What or who has helped you?
    b. What or who hasn't helped you?
17. In an ideal world, what would you need for you and your family to manage everyday in the way that you would lik**e**?

Meanings

18. What does being a parent mean to you?
19. What does being an employee/worker mean to you?
20. What is family wellbeing for you? How does this compare to what personal wellbeing is for you? (probe re: similarities and differences in meaning)

21. We have talked with you over the past few years as you were becoming a parent. We call this the transition to parenthood and we understand from earlier research that this experience holds different meanings for individuals. What does the transition to parenthood mean for you? Where are you at in that transition?

Concluding Comments

22. What has been most rewarding for you in your family and paid work life? What has been most challenging?
23. Is there anything about first-time parenthood or support that we have not talked about that you would like to tell me before we finish this interview?

Affirming Consent: Now that you know what you have talked with me about, are you willing to have the interview be used for the study?

Appendix 7: Participant Demographic Form

FAMILY WELL-BEING AND THE FAMILY PAID WORK INTERFACE

Demographic Profile for Participants

Participant Code# _____ Date _____

1. *Marital status
   ___ Single (never married) ___ Divorced ___ Separated
   ___ Married ___ Widowed ____Common law

2. Employment

   a. type of position _____

   b. hours of work: full-time _____ part-time _____

3. If only one member of a couple, ask: family income & sources of income:
*Approximate annual income (individual participant/family)

___ no income
___ below $5,000
___ $5,000-9,999
___ $10,000-14,999
___$15,000-19,999
___$20,000-29,999
___ $30,000-39,999
___ $40,000-49,999
___ $50,000-59,999
___ $60,000-69,999
___$70,000-79,999
___$80,000-89,999
___ $90,000-99,999
___ $100,000-109,999
___ $110,000-119,999
___ $120,000-129,999
___$130,000-139,999
___$140,000-149,999
___$150,000-159,999

4. Childcare arrangements

   a. Child care provider _____

   b. Average hours per week _____

5. Education (completed since last interview)

   a. Type of program:
      Certificate _____
      Diploma _____
      Degree _____

6. Household
   a. Location (rural region or town, city) _____

b. Family members living in household (gender and age) _____
_____
_____
_____
_____